The Auchityalam... of Kshemendra

Peter Peterson

THE

AUCHITYALAMKARA OF KSHEMENDRA,

WITH A NOTE ON THE

DATE OF PATANJALI,

AND

AN INSCRIPTION FROM KOTAH;

Two Papers read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society;

WITH A PREFACE IN REPLY TO PROFESSOR BHANDARKAR.

BY

PETER PETERSON,

ELPHINSTONE PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, BOMBAY.

Bombay:

PRINTED AT THE

EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.

1885.

Price Re. 1.

PREFATORY.

The first of the two papers that follow contains a short account of a small treatise on rhetoric by the Kashmirian poet, Kshemendra, called the Auchityavichâracharchâ.[1] In examining that book I was extremely interested to find that Kshemendra quotes in its entirety a verse, the last pâda of which is quoted in Patanjali's Mahâbhâshya, and that he gives the name of the author of the verse as one Kumâradâsa. This is the name of one of the authors quoted in the Anthologies of Vallabhadeva and Śârngadhara: and I set out the verses known from these sources to be by this poet in support of the contention that a writer who quotes Kumâradâsa cannot have lived in the second century before Christ. Mr. K. T. Telang, in the course of some remarks on my paper, referred to this part of it as, in the light of accepted facts, pointing rather to the conclusion that Kumâradâsa must be put prior to the accepted date for the author of the Mahâbhâshya than to the conclusion I had suggested. It was in response to this challenge that I drew up the Note on the Date of Patanjali which is appended to this paper. I am induced to publish the paper in its present form chiefly from a desire to animadvert here

[1] This is Kshemendra's own name for the book. Auchityâlaṁkâra, the name by which it is referred to in my paper, probably came into use as a convenient short title.

very briefly on the reply[2] from Dr. Bhandarkar which that Note has elicited.

The Note was negative in its character, and its main contention is not I think misrepresented if I describe it as an attempt to show that there is nothing on the record inconsistent with some considerably later date for Patanjali than the second century before Christ.

Goldstücker, I knew, had maintained that two passages in the Mahâbhâshya taken together proved that Patanjali lived after the overthrow of the Maurya Dynasty in the third century B.C., and at the time of certain events to which he himself refers as events of contemporary history, and which, according to Goldstücker, must be taken to have occurred in the middle of the second century before Christ. If Goldstücker's contention were correct, there was of course an end at once of mine: and my first care was to examine again independently the passages he relies on. It will be seen that I claim to show that Goldstücker misunderstood the grammatical import of the passage in which the supposed reference to the Maurya Dynasty occurs, and that I contend that, with his wrong translation disappears all reason for seeing in the passage any reference to a dynasty at all. Dr. Bhandarkar admits the first of these conclusions, but dissents from the second. He holds that the grounds for taking Maurya as the name of a dynasty that was extinct in Patanjali's time still remain. "The contrast between a royal dynasty and common people [which was Goldstücker's ground] is not that ground: but there is another ground which Professor Peterson has lost sight of, and which consequently has been neglected in his translation."

Bhandarkar proceeds to give my translation, and to show

[2] The Date of Patanjali. A Reply to Professor Peterson; by Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., &c.

where it is, as he takes it, incorrect. For convenience of reference I give below the passage in dispute,[3] my translation, and Bhandarkar's criticism: and will state here what I have to urge in reply. This I will do briefly.

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[3] Mahâbhâshya on Pân. V. 3, 99. अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पुजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति ॥

"In that case [if अपण्ये is to be part of the rule] the following expression is not obtained [*i.e.* must be declared to be bad grammar, while as a matter of fact it is in common use, and so it is the correctness of the sûtra that is in peril.] स्कन्दो विशाखः "A Skanda in act to shoot." "Why?" "It is for gain that the Mauryas make images." तासु न स्यात् "Let it be admitted that so far to them the rule कनो लुप् should not apply, but that the affix ka should be used. यास्त्वेताः संप्राति पूजार्थाः But whatever images among these even, are from the beginning intended for worship and not for sale, तासु भविष्याति to them that rule will apply, and the affix ka will be barred."

Professor Peterson rejects the reading शिवः before स्कन्दः, why, I do not understand, unless the reason be that it goes against the translation which he has worked himself into believing to be correct. विशाखः he translates by "in act to shoot" and his authority is a certain explanation of the word with a second-hand quotation in support from a commentary on the Amarakośa, contained in the St. Petersburg Lexicon, and copied from that as a matter of course by Monier Williams. But Böhtlingk and Roth have not found a single instance of the use of the word in that sense in the whole extent of the literature which they have examined. Still Professor Peterson thinks Patañjali has used it in that sense. But after all what Böhtlingk and Roth and Monier Williams say is that विशाख expresses "an attitude in shooting"; and not "one in that attitude"; so that if the sense is to be admitted here at all, स्कन्दो विशाखः would mean "Skanda who is an attitude in shooting," which of course will not do. Patañjali, however, uses the word as expressive of a certain god who is always mentioned together with Skanda. Under Pân. VIII. 1. 15, he gives द्वन्द्वं स्कन्दविशाखौ along with द्वन्द्वं पर्वतनारदौ as an instance of a copulative compound of the names of things or persons always mentioned together, which admits of the use of the word Dvandva or "pair" instead of Dvau, or "two." It is clear from this that Patañjali himself means to speak of them as two individuals always associated together, and forming a pair, and the dual also expresses that they were two.

And first of my "Skanda in act to shoot." My authority was not Monier Williams, nor was it the mere explanation of the word in the St. Petersburg Dictionary. Like other

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Now Professor Peterson's translation of मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः is "It is for gain that the Mauryas *make* images." "Make" is *present* tense while the original प्रकल्पिताः is *past* tense, that being the past passive participle of the causal of क्लृप. Again प्रकल्पिताः means "devised," "planned," "used as means," and not simply "made." A closer translation of हिरण्यार्थिभिः than that we have in the expression "for gain" ought to be given, for an important point is involved in that. Patañjali applies several times the expression अर्थिनश्च हिरण्येन भवन्ति "seek for gold" to kings, and the presumption it gives rise to is that here too those to whom he applies it must be kings. In the last sentence Professor Peterson's translation of the nominative एताः by "among these" is wrong. It is only the genitive एतासाम् or the locative एतासु that can be so translated. Similarly संप्रति cannot mean "from the beginning" as the Professor takes it to mean; it can only signify "now," "in these days," &c.

The sense of the passage is this. Pâṇini lays down a rule that the termination *ka* which is appended to the name of an object to signify something resembling that object (इवे), provided that something is an image (प्रतिकृतौ), is dropped (कनो लुप्), when the image is used for deriving a livelihood (जीविकार्थे) and is not vendible (अपण्ये). Now Patañjali raises this question. The addition of the condition that the image should not be vendible renders such forms as Śivaḥ, Skandah, Viśâkhaḥ, grammatically not justifiable (तत्रेदं—विशाख इति.) He must here be taken to mean that these forms are current, and that the description "not vendible" is not applicable to them. "Why not" (किं कारणम्), he asks. "Because the Mauryas, seeking for gold or money, used images of gods as means" (मौर्यै—प्रकल्पिता.). Here the author must be understood to say that the description "not vendible" is not applicable to the images now called Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ, and Viśâkah, because such images were sold by the Mauryas. They are therefore vendible objects, though as a matter of fact they are not for sale, and though the selling of such images of gods is discreditable. It is the act of the Mauryas that has rendered them vendible objects. Hence the termination cannot be dropped in accordance with the rule, and they should be called Śivakaḥ, Skandakaḥ and Viśâkhakah, but they are called Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ, and Viśâkhah. "It may be (भवेत्) that the rule about the dropping of *ka* is not applicable (न स्यात्) to them, *i.e.* to those (तासु) images of gods which were sold by the Mauryas. But as to these (एताः) [viz. those called by the names Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ, and Viśâkhah, the correctness of which is in

students I am under constant obligation to both these dictionaries. But I endeavour also to use my own judgment: and if Bhandarkar will turn to the word वैशाख in the St. Petersburg Dictionary, I think he will agree with me that Böhtlingk and Roth supply, with their explanation, sufficient evidence

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question] which (याः) are at the present day used for worship (संप्रति पूजार्थाः) the rule is applicable to them (तासु भविष्यति)." That is, the termination *ka* should be dropped in their case and the forms whose correctness was questioned are correct.

The forms are correct, because they signify images of gods which are now worshipped and are not vendible. They were thought to come under the class of vendible objects because such images were used by the Mauryas for raising money; but the vendibility of some does not make those that are worshipped vendible, and consequently the names of those images do come under Pâṇini's rule and drop *ka*. In understanding the passage thus I have set aside Nâgojibhaṭṭa's comment which I think can be shown to be wrong. He appears to me to say that the words Śivah, Skandah, and Viśâkhah express images sold by the Mauryas, and as such they are vendible objects and consequently should have the termination *ka*, *i.e.* the forms should be Śivakah, &c., and not Śivah, &c., as given in the Mahâbhâshya which are incorrect, while those, which, in conformity with Pâṇini's sûtra drop *ka*, are such as express images, intended for that sort of worship which immediately after their manufacture brings in gains and enables a man to earn his livelihood. Now this makes no difference as to the province or operation of Pâṇini's rule; but that the passage itself has been misunderstood by Nâgojibhaṭṭa appears to me clear. He interprets संप्रति पूजार्थाः as "bringing in gains immediately after manufacture," which interpretation is far-fetched, as are those of all commentators when they do not understand the point and still wish to explain a passage somehow. He also neglects the the word एताः. But the great mistake he makes is his forgetting that when Patañjali supposes an opponent and makes him raise an objection by the expression न सिध्यति, "this is not justifiable by that rule," he very generally makes him object to the rule by bringing forward correct forms which that rule does not explain. Eventually, he interprets the rule in such a manner that those forms also are explained by it. In accordance with my interpretation this is exactly what is done here by Patañjali. If the passage were put in the form of a dialogue between the Doctor (Siddhântin) and his opponent (Pûrvapakshin), it would stand thus:—

Op. Pâṇini inserts the condition that the image should not be vendible. Then, the forms Śivah, Skandha, Viśâkhah are not correct according to his

that that word is used in the sense I have endeavoured to fix on विशाख here.[5] I do not understand the force, in Bhandarkar's mouth, of the appeal to the fact that my authorities, such as they are, do not recognize a corresponding use of the adjective विशाख. They do not. But if वैशाखं स्थानम् is used of an attitude in shooting it would not, I think, be easy to show why विशाख might not be used as an adjective to a word signifying an image as indicating that attitude. It would have been well if I had given the precise reference; but I had these quotations in view when considering the passage, and I may therefore fairly, I think, dissent from the remark that my authority is "a certain explanation of the word with a second-hand quotation in support from a commentary on the Amarakośa, contained in the St. Petersburg Lexicon, and copied from that as a matter of course by Monier Williams." On another small point too here Bhandarkar does me some wrong. He does not understand why I reject the reading शिवः before स्कन्दः, "unless the reason be that it goes against the translation which" I have "worked myself into believing to be correct." It would be a legitimate retort to say that Bhandarkar reads Chandragupta-sabhâ, against Kielhorn, in the note on Pâṇini I, 1, 68, because the omission of that word might be fatal to the edifice Bhandarkar

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rule. [These forms express images of those gods, and should have the suffix *ka*.]

Doc. Why?

Op. Because the Mauryas, desirous of raising money, used as means the images of gods [*i.e.* they bartered them; and these are such images, and consequently belong to the class of vendible objects].

Doc. Those images may not come under the rule [because they bartered them, and consequently they may not drop *ka*]. But these [*viz.*, those in question], which at the present day are used for worship, come under the operation of the rule [and consequently the *ka* is dropped].

[5] They quote two passages from the Harivanśa भूयः प्रहर्तुकामो मां वैशाखेनास्थितो महीम् 6235; and वैशाखं स्थानमासाद्य, (said of Baladeva).

has raised upon it. But Bhandarkar gives his authority for the reading he prefers. And so did I. It will be seen that since writing my paper I have ascertained that the Alwar MS. of the Mahâbhâshya also omits शिव:. I can add now that, having been given an opportunity by my friend the Honorable Rao Saheb Viśvanath Narayan Mandlik of consulting the fine copy of the Bhâshya with Kaiyyaṭa's Pradîpa in his private collection, I find that there too the reading is तत्रेदं न सिध्यति स्कंदो विशाखाविति. We have thus the India Office Photozincographic copy of Kaiyyaṭa, this one of the Rao Saheb's, the Alwar MS. of the Mahâbhâshya, and one of Kielhorn's MSS. all testifying to a reading which is not to be rejected so lightly as Bhandarkar thinks. And if the reading I prefer turns out ultimately to be that which the weight of evidence shows to be correct, Bhandarkar's attempt to refer the following एता: (nominative plural) to these words will fall to the ground. It would seem then that my critic is here as much exposed, to say the least, to the danger of unconscious bias as I can be.

Neither the right reading however, nor the exact interpretation of the phrase [शिव:?] स्कन्दो विशाख इति is, as it happens and as I was careful to point out, material to the first point at issue. We are agreed here as against Goldstücker that the phrase contains instances, or an instance, of a form which as denoting an image is *primâ facie* incorrect under the rule. Let it be admitted then, for the sake of the argument, that the instance put forward is not the word skanda, in such a context as shall show it is the name of an image of the god, and not the god himself, that is meant, but three names heaped together, which we are to understand from the general tenor of the whole passage to be the names of images. The question is as to what the next words mean, and here I join issue directly with my critic.

We are dealing here with images or idols which are profitable all of them for a livelihood, but which may or may not be for sale. This last distinction is a perfectly intelligible one, and I do not understand why Bhandarkar should insist as he does, that the vendible character of certain images must be taken to be due to some mysterious action taken with regard to them by the Maurya kings, or what grounds he has for maintaining that these images and these images alone are referred to in the words Śiva, Skanda, Viśâkha. Idols have been sold from the beginning and are sold now: and the supply will doubtless continue so long as the demand shall last. Nor is there anything discreditable in the idol-makers' profession *per se*. Such names of idols then as Śiva, Skanda, Viśâkha are for the matter in hand colourless. They do not of themselves tell us whether the objects of which they are the names—that is idols in general—are paṇya or apaṇya, vendible or not vendible, much less whether such particular idols as may by a forced construction be supposed to be referred to, are those the Mauryas dealt in or not. What then is it that raises the presumption, which it is necessary to notice, that all idols are in their nature vendible? The answer to this query lies in the phrase मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः Does this mean, as I take it, "It is for gain that the Mauryas make images," or, as Bhandarkar believes, "The Mauryas seeking for gold or money used images of gods as means."

I will first repudiate the charge that I commit here the schoolboy error of rendering a word that denotes past time by a word that denotes present time. There is no restriction to time present, past or future in my English sentence, any more than there is in the Sanskrit so-called "past passive participle" प्रकल्पिता. The Mauryas, it may be, had made, were then making, and would continue to make images, but that is not

Patanjali's assertion here. What he says is that in making images they do not act from disinterested motives. They are in search of gain. In view of Dr. Bhandarkar's misapprehension on this point I should prefer now to translate "images are made by the Mauryas for gain," and I am confident that the so-called past passive participle in Sanskrit is the proper translation of "made" here, and that the use of the present would convey an entirely different meaning. But I do not repudiate my first translation, which is merely a more idiomatic rendering of the same thing. I traverse directly Bhandarkar's contention that the use of प्रकल्पिता: throws the whole action, as far as Patanjali is concerned, into the past. प्रकल्पिता: denotes no more than that the action of making is to be conceived as completed. It has not that note of time which Bhandarkar sees in it. But while refusing to admit that the action in this sentence must belong to past time I will not fall into the opposite error of maintaining that it must be present. Bhandarkar may be right even if he has not, as I think he has not, any warrant for being so positive. The speaker may very well be referring to some notorious action of past time when lust for gain (हिरण्यार्थिभि:) led the "Mauryas" into paths to them forbidden. For if the "Mauryas" turned images into a source of profit it would surely seem to follow that images must be vendible things. Not being then of the class to whom such manufacture and sale is not forbidden the "Mauryas" may have trafficked in idols. Or love of money may have led the "Mauryas" to commit the heinous sin of selling idols that had once been consecrated. Nay the "Mauryas" may have been the then Paramount Power, and as such dealt with idols as the English Government deals with opium. Any one of these things may be. None of them, in my view, must be.

For who were these "Mauryas," whose connection with

images raises a presumption that images as a class, not certain images as Bhandarkar would understand, are vendible? The fact of course is that we do not know. I can only say that the context appears to me to lend very strong support to Nâgojibhaṭṭa's assertion that they are idol-makers, and that, whether that be so or not, I can discover in the same context absolutely no reason for taking them to be the Maurya kings, whether of the third century before Christ or of the sixth century after Christ. That Patanjali in other places speaks of kings too as actuated by desire of gain is hardly conclusive.

I admit that प्रकल्पिताः is a difficult word. But it is as difficult for Dr. Bhandarkar as it is for me. And while I believe that it can mean 'made' or 'made and sold,' I doubt whether it can mean 'used as a means to that end, namely making money,' which appears to be in effect the construction sought to be put on it.

In my construction of एताः I am fully supported by Kaiyyaṭa and Nâgojibhaṭṭa, neither of whom refer that word to the beginning of the paragraph.[5] I do not think it can, in accordance

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[5] **To make this clear I give Kaiyyaṭa's note and Nâgojibhatta's gloss upon it :—**

Kaiyyaṭa: यास्त्वेता इति । याः परिगृह्य गृहाद्गृहमटन्ति तास्वित्यर्थः । यास्तु विक्रीयन्ते तासु न भवति । शिवकान्विक्रीणीत इति.—**Nâgojibhaṭṭa:** मौर्या विक्रेतुं प्रतिमाशिल्पवन्तस्तैरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । विक्रेतुमिति शेषोतस्तासां पण्यत्वात्तत्र प्रत्ययश्रवणप्रसङ्ग इति भावः । तत्र प्रत्ययश्रवणमिष्टमेवेति वदन्सूत्रस्योदाहरणं दर्शयाति । भवेदित्यादि । यास्त्वेता इति च । संप्रतिपूजार्थाः । संप्राति स्वानिर्माणसमकालमेव फलजनिका या पूजा जीविकाप्रदत्वेन तदर्था इत्यर्थस्तदाह । याः परिगृह्योति । यास्तु गृहे पूज्यन्ते शिष्टैस्तासु शिवाभेदबुद्धेः सत्त्वेन सादृश्यबुद्ध्यभावेन प्रत्ययस्यैवाभावः । एवं चित्रेष्वपि द्रष्टव्यम्.

How Kaiyyaṭa understood the passage is not, to my mind, open to question. His short note deals only with the clause यास्त्वेताः, which, according to Bhandarkar refers to the beginning of the paragraph. And his meaning is that the case of images made by Mauryas with an eye to gain must be finally disposed of *in re* this rule, according as they are *either* taken from door to door that service may be held and a "collection" made, *or* sold. I believe

with the ordinary rules of construction, be referred farther back than the अर्चा: of the preceding clause. And I feel sure that it would have been made to stand before, and not after the adversative particle तु if it had the meaning Bhandarkar now ascribes to it. I will, to lighten the argument, accept Bhandarkar's dictum that यास्त्वेता: cannot mean 'whichever of these.' But substitute for एता: its antecedent अर्चा:, and we get the simple meaning 'whichever images.' As I do not believe that Patanjali is drawing any distinction between images dealt with by the Mauryas and any other class of images, the point is not, in my judgment, a material one.

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that Kaiyyaṭa construes यास्त्वेता: as I do, "But whichever being these" that is "But whichever of these": and that his nominative to अटन्ती is मौर्या:. I can only note here that in the India Office MS. Nâgojibhaṭṭa seems actually to read ते (*i.e.* the Mauryas) after या: परिगृह्य in Kaiyyaṭa.

The meaning of Nâgojibhaṭṭa's comment too appears to me to be quite clear, and to be moreover perfectly relevant to the "province of operation of Pâṇini's rule." "We must," says Nâgojibhaṭṭa, "understand the word विक्रेतुम् after प्रकाल्पिता:. The images referred to are therefore vendible, and the occasion for the suffix ka presents itself. In the two clauses that follow, beginning respectively with भवेत् and यास्त्वेता: Patanjali first (भवेत्। तासु न स्यात्) accepts the proposition that the occasion for the suffix has presented itself, and, secondly (यास्त्वेता: संप्रति पूजार्था: तासु भविष्याति) shows how nevertheless his rule is not of none effect. The phrase सम्प्रति पूजार्था: in this clause requires separate explanation: and it is explained as meaning images destined from the beginning for such lucrative worship as shall yield a livelihood. Lastly, the mention of this second class of images (या: परिगृह्यन्ते) suggests a final remark which may be necessary to avoid all misapprehension. Images are not exhaustively divided into those which are hawked about from house to house that the owner may levy a religious toll, and those which are sold right off. There are images which are exposed to neither indignity, but are set up and remain for worship and for worship only. With regard to these Nâgojibhaṭṭa holds that the condition precedent of the suffix is absent. These images are not things made in the likeness of the god. They are the god himself.

Kaiyyaṭa explains संप्रति पूजार्थाः by याः परिगृह्य गृहाद्गृहमटन्ति and Nâgojibhaṭṭa's Note is संप्रति स्वनिर्माणसमकालमेव फलजनिका या पूजा जीविकाप्रदत्वेन तदर्थाः. I follow respectable authority then in taking संप्रति to refer not to the time of speaking "now," "in these days," but to the time of manufacture "at the time," "from the beginning." If the time of speaking is the same as the time of manufacture the distinction is one without a difference. I do not dispute however that Nâgojibhaṭṭa may be wrong, and that the sense may be 'now.' In that case the meaning will be that even images which have been objects of barter, if they have ceased to be such, and are now objects of worship only, must be held to have acquired the quality of apaṇyatva.

Bhandarkar has pointed out that he himself published a translation of this passage in 1873, "in accordance with the native commentators" when he also stated that Goldstücker's interpretation was wrong. I greatly regret that Bhandarkar's translation, although the paper which contains it is among the references I gave, escaped my notice at the time I was writing my paper. I have referred to it now, and am bound to say that in 1873 Bhandarkar had already silently corrected the worst of Goldstücker's mistakes. In other respects however Bhandarkar's version of 1873 is very defective, a fact which in fairness should not be lost sight of when comparing my version with that with which Bhandarkar has now followed it. In 1873 Bhandarkar took Patanjali to mean that Pâṇini's rule is arbitrarily set aside in the case of images sold by the Mauryas, so that forms not valid are nevertheless in use. "What Patanjali means to say is that the termination ka should be applied to the names of the images sold by the Mauryas, according to Pâṇini's rule; but the rule is set aside in this case, and the wrong forms Śiva, Skanda, and Visâkha are used." This is a capital error, as Bhandarkar now sees. That it is in accordance

with the native commentators is a view of it due I believe to a misapprehension of Nâgojibhaṭṭa's meaning, from which Bhandarkar has not yet shaken himself free. I should be more than human if I refrained from adding that in 1873 Bhandarkar gave to the phrase तासु न स्यात् precisely that reference which he now seeks to give to the admittedly converse phrase यास्त्वेताः, and that एताः he naturally then took in the sense he refuses to admit for it now. "It may not be dropped in those cases (*i.e.* the proper forms must be Śivaka &c.) says Patanjali, but it is dropped in the case of those images which are now used for worship." I think it must be admitted that if I have done nothing else I have at least led Bhandarkar to reconsider his own view of Patanjali's meaning, and that to some purpose.[6]

So much for the Maurya passage. Its importance, as I have pointed out, lies in the fact that what I maintain to be a mere hypothesis, not proved, if not incapable of proof, with regard to the persons meant, led Goldstücker, and has led others, to look for Patanjali's date soon after the third century before Christ. With regard to the other passages I do not think that I can usefully add anything to what will be found in the following paper. My own contention was that Patanjali had been discovered to quote Kumâradâsa, that Kumâradâsa is the author of verses of a character precisely similar to verses which we can assign to dates ranging from 600 to 1000 A.D., and that in these circumstances it was difficult to believe that Patanjali really lived in the second century before Christ. These considerations appear to me to be unaffected by Bhandarkar's elaborate hypothesis as to what Patanjali must have meant by the illustration "Aruṇad Yavanah Sâketam," while as for Pushyamitra and Chandragupta I have pointed out that the existence of *two* princes of these names reigning at about the same time

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[6] Bhandarkar's translation of 1873 is in the Indian Antiquary, vol. II., p. 95.

is better guaranteed for the fourth century after Christ than for the third before Christ. I am far from saying that Patanjali must be taken to be referring to my pair of princes. I think the whole argument a most unsafe one, which affords no sufficient warrant to scholars to treat the subject as a closed book.

One more word about Pâṇini. It is not I think the case that I have anywhere sought to bring Pâṇini down to the sixth century after Christ. What I have said is, that if Pâṇini wrote the verses ascribed to him in the anthologies he certainly did not live in the sixth century before Christ. The evidence that he did write those verses appears to me to be accumulating, though I have never attempted to say that it is yet sufficient, *ὡς ἅπανθ' ὁρῶν καὶ πάντ' ἀκούων πάντ' ἀναπτύσσει χρόνος.*[7]

I cherish the hope that one day I may hold in my hands the Pâtâlavijaya, or the Jambavatîvijaya of the 'Mahâkavi' Pâṇini. Nor will I much grudge the prize to my friend Bhandarkar in view of the effect the praśasti may possibly have upon him. If the book be found, I do not at all anticipate that it will turn out to be written in an archaic style.[8] What appears to me on a

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[7] This is Aufrecht's quotation when giving (from the Saduktikarṇâmrita) the fine verse attributed there, and in other anthologies, to the Bhashyakâra:

यद्यपि स्वच्छभावेन दर्शयत्यम्बुधिर्मणीन् ।
तथापि जानुदघ्नोऽयमिति चेतसि मा कृथाः ॥

[8] "Should the entire work be discovered and found as a whole to be written in an archaic style, there will be time enough to consider its claim to be the work of Pâṇini; but at present we must reject that advanced on behalf of these artificial verses."—*Bhandarkar's paper.*

Pischel has recently suggested that the Pâtâlavijaya may turn out to be a grammatical poem of the same kind as the Bhaṭṭikâvya. The suggestion is not in harmony with the verses that have been recovered: and itself rests on a misapprehension of the reference to the Pâtâlavijaya in Nami's commentary on Rudraṭa. As the matter is of some importance, and as I myself am disposed to attach a special significance to Nami's reference to Pâṇini, I will give the passage here from the Bombay Government Palmleaf copy, (No. 53 of Kielhorn's Coll.) and from the Paper copy secured by me for

review of the whole case to be probable is that Pâṇini was one of several grammarians who, late in the study of the subject, applied

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the Government of Bombay. Nami is discoursing on the precise significance of the word शब्द in the following canon of Rudrata :

अन्यूनाधिकवाचकसुक्रमपुष्टार्थशब्दचारुपदं ।
क्षोदक्षममक्षूणं सुमतिर्वाक्यं प्रयुञ्जीत ॥

And his Note is

शब्दग्रहणमपशब्दनिरासार्थम् । अपशब्दनिरासश्च यद्यपि व्युत्पत्तिद्वारेणैव कृतस्तथापि महाकवीनामप्यपशब्दपातदर्शनात्तन्निरासादरख्यापनाय पुनरभियोगः । तथा हि पाणिनेः पातालविजये महाकाव्ये । संध्यावधूं गृह्य करेणेत्यत्र गृह्येति क्त्वो ल्यबादेशः । तथा तस्यैव कवेः ।

गतेर्धरात्रे परिमन्दमन्दं गर्जन्ति यत्प्रावृषि कालमेघाः ।
अपश्यती वत्समिवेन्दुबिम्बं तच्छर्वरी गौरिव हुंकरोति ॥
इत्यत्राप्यपश्यतीदं लुप्तान्तिनकारं पदम् ॥

For क्त्वो ल्यबादेशः ("lyap is the âdeśa or substitution for ktva) the Palm-leaf MSS. has त्को ल्यवादेशः and the other क्त्वो ल्यबादेशः. The paper MS. reads लुप्तान्तिनकारपदम्. लुप्तान्तीनकारं पदम् ("a word the *n* of the anti of which has been dropped) appears to me to be wanted.

Pischel sees in Nami's words here a statement to the effect that great poets use ungrammatical forms in order to impress on their readers the importance of not doing so, which would not, it may be remarked in passing, be a very nice adaptation of means to ends. But Nami does not say this. What he says is that by the use of the word शब्द here his author intends to exclude apaśabdas or ungrammatical forms, and that Rudraṭa returns to this subject to lay stress upon it, although it might be considered to have been already disposed of by what he said about vyutpatti, in view of the fact that even great poets sometimes slip in this respect. (As when Byron writes 'lay' for 'lie,' a mistake which I observe a good English scholar has taken upon himself lately quietly to correct in editing an English Anthology for Indian students. It may be doubted whether Byron would have thanked him.)

Namisâdhu's short roll of offenders—all of them by his own statement mahâkavis—has only four names in all, Pâṇini, Bhartṛihari, Kalidasa, and Bharavi. I have spoken of the peculiar significance I am disposed to attach to Nami's reference to Paṇini. I confess I think that he purposely heads his list with two, Pâṇini and Bhartṛihari, whose eminence as grammarians makes their conduct to the pedantic mind all the more anomalous. In any case the dilemma is obvious. Namisâdhu must be added to the list of learned men witnessing to a poet, and a great poet, Pâṇini, who either needed not to be distinguished from the only wearer of that name known to these later days, or was in their minds not distinguishable from him. In the former alternative how has this second Pâṇini dropped into utter oblivion : in the second is there any good reason to suppose that men like Kshemendra and

themselves to consolidate and perfect the system of Sanskrit grammar, that the archaisms on which stress is laid are due to the fact that he was dealing with older documents, great part of which he incorporated, that the superior excellence of his grammar was early apparent, and has never since been effectually challenged, but that he was also a poet, and a great poet, writing as a poet in the poetical language of his day. What that day was—how far Pâṇini will eventually have to be brought down from the date now accepted for him, or how far it may be, on the contrary, advisable to push into remoter antiquity the lyric poetry of Northern India—is a question which we have no adequate means now of determining. Let us then wait.

To the paper which is the subject of this Preface I have added a second paper in which I gave the Society a fresh transcript and a translation of the inscription at Kansua near Kotah. This inscription is dated in the Malwa era which I have shown to be identical with the Vikramâditya era, and to have been in use under that name before 544 A.D. In reading and translating the inscription I received great assistance from Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji and from Dr. Bhandarkar, to whom I desire to offer my best thanks.

Bombay, 25th August 1885.

Namisâdhu, identifying the poet with the grammarian, could have been in error.

Nami's exact date is still uncertain. Kielhorn gives Samvat 1176 as the date of the *Palm-leaf Manuscript*. I have shown that the verse from which this is taken really gives Nami's date for the composition of his work. Our palm-leaf MS. *may* be the first copy of the work. The reading differs in the two MSS. The Palm-leaf MS. has

षट्कसप्ततिसंयुक्तैरेकादशसमासतैः

विक्रमात्समातिक्रांतैः [.] प्रावृषीदं समर्थितं.

For षट्कसप्तति here the Paper MS. reads पंचविंशति. Nami therefore wrote this book either in Saṁvat 1176 or in Saṁvat 1125.

ON THE AUCHITYALAMKARA OF KSHEMENDRA,

WITH A NOTE ON THE DATE OF PATANJALI.

In the course of a visit paid recently to Râjendrasûri, a Jain religious teacher at the time in Ahmedabad, I noticed that his list of books, which he kindly let me look over, contained an entry Auchityâlaṃkâra. Bühler, in his review of my First Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts (Indian Antiquary, January 1884) pointed out that I had omitted from my list of the known works of the Kashmir poet Kshemendra a small treatise on rhetoric called Kavikanthâbharaṇam, our first copy of which Bühler himself obtained. "An examination of my apograph of this manuscript by Mr. J. Schönberg,"[1] Bühler goes on to say, "has shown that it contains, besides the Kavikanthâbharaṇam, another small treatise on Alaṃkâra called Auchityavichâracharchâ." Râjendrasûri's Auchityâlaṃkara turned out to be the work here referred to: and through his courtesy in lending it I am able to offer in the following paper a short account of the valuable data for the history of Sanskrit literature which, within very small compass, it offers in rich profusion. A more extended notice of the book itself, and of the Kavikanthâbharaṇam, which here also, as in the previous case, is presented in the same manuscript, I hope to give in my forthcoming Third Report. From the fact just alluded to it is perhaps to be conjectured that the two books were generally regarded as supplementary the one to the other.

A word of preface is perhaps desirable as to the importance to us of a work like this. The poet Kshemendra tells us himself that one of his books, the Samayamâtṛikâ, was finished during the reign of king Aṇanta, in the 25th year of the Kashmirian cycle = A.D. 1050 (Bühler's Report, p. 46). He was a most learned and voluminous writer, and, what is more to our purpose, he invariably give his references when quoting illustrations of the breach or observance of the rhetorical

[1] Mr. Schönberg has since published an account of the Kavikanthâbharaṇam. Wien, 1884.

rules he is discussing. We obtain from him then many names of Indian poets and their works, for all of which we get Kshemendra's own time as a lower date, after which they cannot have flourished or been written. Kshemendra's favourite method, as has been hinted, is to give first one or more examples of verses which comply with his rule, and to follow with one or more examples of verses which do not. It must be said for him that he deals out praise and censure as a true critic who is no respecter of persons. In more than one instance indeed he illustrates the two sides of the canon he is dealing with by different verses from the same work of his own. These verses by Kshemendra himself are not included in the analysis which follows.

I. AMARAKA. 1. आलोलामलकावलीं· Böhtlingk 1035, from Amaruśatakam. γ तन्वंग्याः सुतरां रतांतसमये· δ हरिहरस्कंदादिभिर्दैवतैः·

2. गंतव्यं यदि नाम निश्चितमहो गंतासि केयं त्वरा
द्वित्राण्येव पदानि तिष्ठतु भवान्पश्यामि यावन्मुखं ।
संसारे घटिकाप्रवाहविगलद्धारा समे जीविते
को जानाति पुनस्त्वया सह मम स्याद्वा न वा संगमः ॥

"If you must go you shall go; but why so soon? Turn and stand while I gaze on your face. Your life and mine are but two drops of the water that will rush out of the bucket when it turns the top of the wheel: and when that is done who can say whether you and I, in the lives to come, shall ever meet again."[2]

घटिका may also mean a waterclock, when the figure would resemble our one of the 'sands of life.' But I think प्रवाह shows that the sense is as I have indicated. It would be curious if the same figure underlies a common English colloquialism.

This verse is quoted also in the Kavikaṇṭhâbharaṇam (Schönberg, p. 14).[3] Our two examples show that this poet Amaraka is not to be distinguished from the author of the Amaruśatakam. Aufrecht (Z. D. M. G. 27, 7) thinks Amarû was the original form afterwards sanskritized into Amaru.

II. BHAṬṬA INDURAJA. 1. आदाय वारि परितः. Kâvya Prakâsa, p. 453 (Calc. Ed. 1876). β किं नाम साधितमनेन महार्णवेन· δ पातालमूलकुहरे. Aufrecht (Z. D. M. G. 27, 94) cites this verse from the Sârngaddhapaddhati under Srîśuka. 2. आश्चर्यं वडवानलः.

[2] "For we must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again." II Samuel, xiv. 14.

[3] In β both Manuscripts read दिनानि in the Kavikaṇṭhâbharaṇam, and पयानि in the book before us. Professor Bhandarkar suggests पलानि 'moments.'

III. Srîmad Utpalarâja. अहौ वा हारे वा. Böhtlingk 844, from Bhartṛihari.

IV. Karpatika.

1. शीतेनाध्युषितस्य माघशशिवच्चिंतार्णवे मज्जतः
शांताग्निः स्फुटिताधरस्य धमतः क्षुत्क्षामकंठस्य मे ।
निद्रा क्वापि विमानितेव दयिता संत्यज्य दूरं गता
सत्पात्रप्रतिपादितेव वसुधा न क्षीयते शर्वरी ॥

"As I sat perishing with cold, and plunged like the moon in Mâgha (the moon surrounded by clouds) in a sea of thought, the fire sank low, and my blistered lips and hunger-parched throat were of no avail to keep it alight. Sleep has left me and gone like an insulted wife: and the night, like land given to a good holder, is no whit spent."

This is the verse which Kalhana in the Râjataranginî (III. 181), puts into the mouth of the poet Mâtṛigupta,[*] who is there said to have composed it impromptu, in reply to the king's enquiry as to why he alone of all the palace servants was not asleep. Its appearance here is noteworthy. Kshemendra in another passage of this small book quotes Mâtṛigupta by name. It is impossible, I think, to say whether we are to take Karpaṭika as the real name of the author of one of the works which are summarised for us in the Râjataranginî or as a synonym of Mâtrigupta, referring to his condition as a suppliant for the king's favour. The verse occurs also in Vallabhadeva's Subhâshitâvali, where it is ascribed to Mâtṛigupta, with the much better reading शीतेनाध्युषितस्य माषशिमिवत् 'dried up with cold like a peaspod.'

V. Kalidasa. 1. अथ स विषयव्यावृत्तात्मा. RV. IV. 70. 2 इदमसुलभ° Vikram. Act II. *a* इदमसुलभवस्तुप्रार्थनादुर्निवारः. मलयवातांदोलित. Both good readings.

3. इह निवसति मेरुः शेखरः क्ष्माधराणां
इह विनिहितभाराः सागराः सप्त चान्ये ।
इदमहिपतिभोगस्तंभविभ्राजमानं
धराणितलमिहैव स्थानमस्मद्विधानाम् ॥

The heading to this verse is यथा कुंतेश्वरदौत्ये कालिदासस्य. I have not found the verse in any known work of Kâlidâsa, and can only suppose that Kunteśvaradautyam is the title of a lost work by the prince of Indian poets. 4. ऊरुमूलनख°. KS. VIII. 87. Kshemendra's testimony to the authenticity of the eighth canto. *a* ऊरुमूलनखमार्गपंक्तिभिः. 5. क्रोधं प्रभो संहर KS. III. 72. 6. जातं वंशे. Meghadûta V. 6. Cf.

[*] Compare Bhau Daji's Paper in Vol. VI. of the Journal, B. B. R. A. S. p. 213.

note on No. 4. 6 लब्धकामा: 7. बालेंदुवक्राणि. KS. III. 29. 8. वर्णप्रकर्षे सति. KS. III. 28.

VI. KUMARADASA.

1. अयि विजहीहि दृढोपगूहनं त्यज नवसंगमभीरु वल्लभं ।
अरुणकरोद्गम एष वर्तते वरतनु संप्रवदंति कुक्कुटाः ॥

Böhtlingk 562, from Ind. Stud. 8, 414, where it was quoted from Aufrecht. MS. विजिहीहि. As long ago as 1859 Aufrecht, in his edition of Ujjvaladatta's Commentary on the Uṇâdi Sutras, pointed out that the fragment of a verse वरतनु संप्रवदंति कुक्कुटाः given by Ujjvaladatta in his comment. on I. 82, occurs also in the Mahâbhâshya, in the note on p. I, 3, 48. (Kielh. Ed. p. 283.) Aufrecht at the same time gave the whole verse as he found it quoted by Nârâyaṇa on Kedârabhaṭṭa. The discovery that Kshemendra quotes this verse and assigns it to Kumâradâsa will one day I hope prove a valnable datum for the Mahâbhâshya itself. Unfortunately we do not yet know Kumâradâsa's own date. But the following verses by him are quoted in the Sârngaddharapaddhati and Subhâshitavali; and are presented here as, with the present example, presenting strong internal evidence that a writer who quotes Kumâradâsa cannot have lived at the date now widely accepted for Patanjali.

1. पश्यन्हतो मन्मथबाणपातैः
शक्तो विधातुं न निमील्य चक्षुः ।
ऊरू विधात्रा हि कृतौ कथं ता-
वित्यास तस्यां सुमतेर्वितर्कः ॥

From Aufrecht, Z. D. M. G. 27, 17. 2 बालेनाय विमुंच Aufrecht, who points out that it occurs in the Amaruśatakam. 3. वयःप्रकर्षादुपचीयमान. Cited by Aufrecht.

4. शिशिरसीकरवाहिनि मारुते चरति शीतभयादिव सत्वरः ।
मनसिजः प्रविवेश वियोगिनीहृदयमाहितशोकहुताशनं ॥

"When the wind blew cold with showers of icy spray, Love took fright, and fled for shelter to the heart of the forsaken lover where the fire of sorrow burned." Quoted and translated by Aufrecht, who compares the Anacreontic *μεσονυκτίοις ποτ' ὥραις*.

5. भ्रांत्वा विवस्वानथ दक्षिणाशामालंब्य सर्वत्र करप्रसारी ।
व्यक्तिवित्ततो निःस्व इव प्रतस्थे वसूपलब्ध्यै धनदस्य वासं ॥

"The wandering Sun has gone to the South country and there scattered his rays: now like a poor priest (who with the hope of alms in his heart has been holding out his hand to every passer-by) he goes to

the North country to repair his beams (goes to the rich man's house to get wealth.)" This last example is from the Subhâshitâvali. It has a very modern ring.

VII. Mâlava Kuvalaya.

1. च्युतसुमनसः कुंदा पुष्पोद्गमैरलसा द्रुमा
मनसि च गिरं गृह्णंतीमे किरंति न कोकिलाः ।
अथ च सवितुः शीतोल्लासं लुनंति मरीचयो
न च जरठतामालंबंते क्लमोदयदायिनीं ॥

VIII. Gauda Kumbhakâra. 1. लांगूलेन गभस्तिमान्वलयितः. A description of Hanumâu crossing the straits.

IX. Gangaka.

1. स कोऽपि प्रेमार्द्रः प्रणयपरिपाकप्रचलितो
विलासोऽक्ष्णां देयात्सुखमनुपमं वो मृगदृशां ।
यदाकूतं दृष्ट्वा पिदधति मुखं तूणविवरे
निरस्तव्यापारा भुवनजयिनः पंच विशिखाः ॥

Kshemendra quotes this verse as a praiseworthy âśîrvachanam by "My own teacher Gangaka."

X. Chandaka.

1. कृशः काणः खंजः श्रवणविकलः पुच्छरहितः
क्षुधा क्षामो रूक्षः पिठरककपालार्दितगलः ।
व्रणैः पूतिक्लिन्नैः कृमिपरिवृतैरावृततनुः
शुनीमन्वेति श्वा तमपि मदयत्येष मदनः ॥

Böhtlingk 1895 from Bhartṛihari.

2. कृष्णेनांब गतेन........पायात्स वः केशवः. 3. खगोत्क्षिप्तैरंत्रैः.

4. युद्धेषु भाग्यचपलेषु न मे प्रतिज्ञा
दैवं नियच्छति जयं च पराजयं च ।
एषैव मे रणगतस्य सदा प्रतिज्ञा
पश्यंति यन्न रिपवो जघनं हयानाम् ॥

"In battles Fortune goes now here, now there, and for them I will not answer. Fate gives victory and defeat to whom she will. This one thing I promise, that when I go down into the fight the enemy shall not look upon my horses' backs."

XI. Dîpaka. 1 अयि विरहविचित्ते. 2 पुण्ये मामे. Böhtlingk 4102

from Bhartṛihari. *α* सितपटच्छन्नपालीकपालीं. *β* धूम्रोपकंठं. *γ* प्रवृत्तो. 3. श्येनांघ्रिमहशरितोंत्तरकरो.

XII. Dharmakîrti.

Of this poet Aufrecht writes as follows in the sixteenth volume of Weber's Indische Studien :—

"Dharmakîrti is one of the oldest writers on Alaṃkâra. A work of his, called Bauddhasaṃgati, is mentioned by Subandhu in the Vâsavadattâ (p. 205, ed. Hall). In all probability he is the Buddhist philosopher of that name who according to Wassiljew wrote a commentary on Dinnâga's Pramâṇasamuchchaya, as also the work Pramâṇavarttika, Pramâṇaviniśchaya, and Prasannapâda. A half verse by the philosopher Dharmakîrti is quoted in the chapter of the Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha that deals with Buddhism. Ânandavardhana quotes Dharmakîrti in the Dhvanyâloka : the Śârngadharapaddhati gives one, and the Saduktikarṇâmṛitam eight of his verses."

Six of the verses referred to here will be found in Aufrecht's paper. A seventh is the verse लावण्यद्रविणव्ययो, which, as Aufrecht notes, had already been given by Böhtlingk from the Kuvalayânanda, without, of course, any author's name. Kshemendra in the book before us is now found to corroborate the statement of the Saduktikarṇâmṛitam as to the authorship of this verse, and so far to corroborate generally the statements of the Saduktikarṇâmṛitam as to the authors cited.

लावण्यद्रविणव्ययो न गणितः क्लेशो महान्स्वीकृतः[6]
स्वच्छंदस्य सुखं जनस्य वसतश्चिंताज्वरो[7] निर्मितः ।
एषापि स्वयमेव तुल्यरमणाभावाद्वराकी हता
कोर्थश्चेतसि वेधसा विनिहितस्तन्व्यास्तनुं तन्वता[8] ।।

"He recked not of the store of beauty he spent on her or of the toil he took : he made her a fire of torment for people who were dwelling at their ease : she herself is doomed to sorrow as one who can never find a mate : say, what did the Creator propose to himself when he made this woman ?"

The verse is quoted in census of the employment of the word तन्व्या

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[6] स्वीकृतः. So also Aufrecht. Böhtlingk आर्जितः.

[7] Böhtlingk स्वच्छन्दं चरतो जनस्य हृदये. So also A with वसतो for चरतो.

[8] A and B स्वगुणानुरूपरमणाभावात्.

[6] B. तन्वीमिमां तन्वता.

which Kshemendra says has nothing to recommend it but the jingle with the words तनुं तनुते. The poet should have used some such word as सुन्दर्याः This shows that the reading of our book (and of the Sadukti) is undoubtedly the right one, as may be said also, I think, of the other variants presented.

Other two verses—अमीषां प्राणानां and असन्तो नाभ्यर्थ्याः—which in the Skm. are ascribed to Dharmakîrti "belong," says Aufrecht, "to Bhartrihari. Their appearance in the anthology under Dharmakîrti is to be accounted for on the theory that the compiler of the Saduktikarnâmritam took them from Dharmakîrti's book on rhetoric without troubling himself to trace them further."

Kshemendra in this book assigns six verses which now stand in Bhartrihari's Śatakas to other authors, and claims at least one for himself, a state of things which makes us hesitate to accept Aufrecht's theory here. The alternative theory, that the book which passes under Bhartrihari's name is a late compilation, deserves renewed consideration.

XIII. Bhatta Nârâyana. 1. महाप्रलयमारुतक्षुभित. 2. यो यः शस्त्रं. Both from the Venîsamhâra.

XIV. Parimala.

1. आहारं न करोति नांबु पिबति स्त्रैणं न संसेवते
शेते यत्सिकतासु मुक्तविषयश्चंडातपं सेवते ।
त्वत्पादाब्जरजःप्रसादकणिकालाभोन्मुखस्तन्मरौ
मन्ये मालवसिंह गूर्जरपतिस्तीव्रं तपस्तप्यते ॥

"He neither eats nor drinks, and he abjures the society of woman: he lies on the sand, puts from him all worldly pleasures, and courts the hottest sun. Oh Lion of the House of Mâlva, it seems to me that this Gûrjara King is doing penance in the forests of Marwâr that he may be found worthy to touch the dust of your feet."

2. तत्र स्थितं स्थितिमता वरदेव दैवा-
द्भृत्येन ते चकितचित्तमियंत्यहानि ।
उत्कंपिनि स्तनतटे हरिणेक्षणानां
हारान् प्रनर्त्तयति यत्र भवत्प्रतापः ॥

"There, O good king! thy servant got a footing, as fate would have it, and there he remained so many days, curious at heart—there, where thy fame sets dancing the pearls on the quivering breasts of the deer-eyed women."

3. मग्नानि द्विषतां कुलानि समरे त्वत्खड्गधाराकुले
नाथास्मिन्निति बंदिवाचि बहुशो देव श्रुतायां पुरा ।
मुग्धा गूर्जरभूमिपालमहिषी प्रत्याशया पाथसः
कांतारे चकिता विमुंचति मुहुः पत्युः कृपाणे दृशौ ॥

"The silly Gûrjara Queen, as she wanders terror-struck in the forest ever and anon casts her eyes on her husband's sword to see if there be no water (धारा) there, bethinking herself in her heart how often in the days that are gone she has heard the bards say 'Great king, the hosts of your foes have gone down in the battle through which your sword's edge (धारा) swept.'"

4. हा शृंगारतरंगिणीकुलगिरे हा राजचूडामणे
हा सौजन्यसुधानिधान हह हा वैदग्ध्यदुग्धोदधे ।
हा देवोज्जयिनीभुजंग युवतिप्रत्यक्षकंदर्प हा
हा सद्बांधव हा कलामृतकर क्वासि प्रतीक्षस्व नः ॥

"O Hill of the River of Love, O Crest Jewel of Kings, O Home of all Goodness, O Milky Ocean of Cleverness, O Lover of Ujjayinî, O thou that wert a living God of Love to young women, O Kinsman to all the Good, O Brewer of the Nectar of the Arts, where O King, art thou gone: wait for me."

These verses show that Parimala's lost poem probably present an almost contemporary record of one of the earlier struggles between the sovereigns of Mâlva and Gujarâṭ.

I will only conjecture here that the theme of the poem was that expedition in Gujarât despatched by Tailapa, under a General of the name of Barapa, "against Mûlarâja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of Anahilapattana, who for some time was hard pressed, though according to the Gujarât chroniclers the General was eventually defeated with slaughter." [9] The striking verse in the Kâvyaprâkâsa राजन्राजसुता न पाठयति मां (p. 450, Calc. Ed. 1876) wears every appearance of being from the same work, for which we should be on the look out.

XV. Parivrajaka.

1. तपो न तप्तं वयमेव तप्ता
भोगा न भुक्ता वयमेव भुक्ताः ।
जरा न जीर्णा वयमेव जीर्णा-
स्तृष्णा न याता वयमेव याताः ॥

This seems a better form of the verse which Böhtlingk, No. 4631, भोगा न भुक्ताः gives from Bhartṛibari.

[9] Bhandarkar: Early History of the Dekkan, p. 59. See also the Râs Mâla, Cap. IV. to which Bhandarkar refers.

XVI. BHAṬṬA PRABHÂKARA.

This poet is already known only from Aufrecht's citation from the Śârngadharapaddhati of what is surely one of the prettiest compliments to beauty even a poet ever devised.

या दृष्टा यैर्न वा दृष्टा
मुषिताः सममेव ते ।
हृदयं हृतमेकेषा-
मन्येषां चक्षुषोः फलं ॥

"She spoils indifferently those who see her and those who see her not: these lose their hearts, those might as well have never had their eyes."

1. दिग्मातंगघटाभिषिक्तचतुराघाटा मही साध्यते
सिद्धा सापि वदंत एव हि वयं रोमांचिताः पश्यत ।
विप्राय प्रतिपाद्यते किमपरं रामाय तस्मै नमो
यस्मादाविरभूत्कथाद्भुतमिदं यत्रैव चास्तं गतम् ॥

XVII. ŚRÎ PRAVARASENA. Two verses are quoted, which both occur in this writer's Setubandha. I, 2, and III, 20.

XVIII. BHAṬṬA BÂNA. Three verses by Bâṇa, the author of Kâdambarî, are quoted. Two of these, 1. जयत्युपेन्द्रः and 2. स्तनयुगं, are from that book, and call for no remark. But the third is of extraordinary interest for us. It is the verse

3. हारो जलार्द्रवसनं नलिनीदलानि
प्रालेयशीकरमुचस्तुहिनांशुभासः ।
यस्येन्धनानि सरसानि च चन्दनानि
निर्वाणमेष्यति कथं स मनोभवाग्निः ॥

which now stands in the Amaruśatakam (No. 98). In his note Kshemendra tells us that this verse is part of a description of the state to which Kâdambarî was reduced by the absence of Chandrâpîḍa. It would appear then that Bâṇa, in addition to the work known to us, treated the same theme, or part of the same theme, in verse: and with this clue we can assign to their place in such a composition more than one of the verses cited by Bâṇa in the later anthologies.

XIX. BHAṬṬA BHALLAṬA.

मृत्योरास्यमिवाततं धनुरिदं मूर्छद्विषाश्लेषवः
शिक्षा सा विजितार्जुना प्रतिलयं सर्वांगलग्ना गतिः ।

अंतः क्रौर्यमहो शठस्य मधुनो हा हारि गीतं मुखे
व्याधस्यास्य यथा भविष्यति तथा मन्ये वनं निर्मृगम्.

The use of singing or music as one of the weapons of the hunter is often referred to. Aufrecht quotes ten verses by this poet from the Śârngaddharapaddhati.

XX. Bhavabhuti. 1. पुरा यत्र स्रोतः पुलिनं. Uttara R. Act. 2. योयमश्वः पताकेयं Uttara R. Act. IV. 3. वृद्धास्ते न विचारणीयचरिताः Uttara R. Act. V. *a* तिष्ठंति वर्त्तंतां. *β* शुद्धं स्त्रीदमने. *γ* अकुतोमुखान्यपि *δ* इंद्रसूनुनिधने. In the heading to the second of these examples the poet is in both MSS, called Bhavabhûpati.

XXI. Mâgha.

बुभुक्षितैर्व्याकरणं न भुज्यते
न पीयते काव्यरसः पिपासितैः ।
न विद्यया केनचिदुद्धृतं कुलं
हिरण्यमेवार्जय निष्फलाः कलाः ।

"The hungry cannot feed upon grammar, or the thirsty satisfy themselves with the nectar of poetry. No man ever exalted his house by learning. Get money. Learning leads to nothing." Note in the Siśapâlavadha. Böhtlingk 4484, from the Subhâshitârṇava.

XXII. Mâtrigupta.

नायं निशामुखसरोरुहराजहंसः
कीरीकपोलतलकांततनुः शशांकः ।
आभाति नाथ तदिदं दिवि दुग्धसिंधु-
डिंडीरपिंडपरिपांडु यशस्त्वदीयम् ॥

Note that Kshemendra would seek to distinguish between Mâtrigupta and Kâlidâsa. Compare Max Müller 'India: what can it teach us?' p. 133.

XXIII. Râjaputra Muktâpida.

नीवारप्रसराग्रमुष्टिकवलैर्यो वर्द्धितः शैशवे
पीतं येन सरोजपत्रपुटके होमावशेषं पयः ।
तं दृष्ट्वा मदमंथरालिवलयव्यालोलगल्लं गजं
सोत्कंठं सभयं च पश्यति मुहुर्दूरे स्थितं तापसः ॥

"From afar the hermit gazes with mingled love and fear at the mighty elephant, whose throat is encircled by swarms of bees heavy laden

with the juice that exudes from its temples, and remembers how this is he whom at first he nourished with the tender tops of the rice-plant, and who drank from a leafy cup the milk that was over from the sacrifice."

XXIV. YASOVARMADEVA.

उत्पत्तिर्भेडकुले यदभीष्टं तत्पदं समाक्रांतं ।
भोगास्तथापि दैवात्सकृदपि भोक्तुं न लभ्यंते ॥

Yaśovarman, according to Aufrecht (Z. D. M. G. 36, 521) wrote a drama, Râmâbhyûdaya, which is cited by Abhinavagupta.

XXV. BHAṬṬA LAṬṬANA.

ग्रीष्मं द्विषंतु जलदागममर्थयंतां
ते संकटप्रकृतयो विकटास्तडागाः ।
अब्धेस्तु मुग्धशफरीचटुलाचलेंद्र-
निष्कंपकुक्षिपयसो द्वयमप्यचिंत्यं ॥

XXVI. RÂJAŚEKHARA. 1. एतस्याः समरसंज्वरः. Bâlarâmâyaṇa Act V. (p. 121 Ben. Ed.) β प्रस्थंपचः पायसां. Ed. स्रोषप्रदः पायसां. प्रस्थंपच is given by BR. (compare also Böhtlingk's Smaller Dictionary) from schol. on p. 3. 2. 33, as a word for which a reference was not then available.—मणयः सर्वेपि.

2. कर्णाटीदशनांकितः शितमहाराष्ट्रीकटाक्षाहतः
प्रौढांध्रीस्तनपीडितः प्रणयिनीभ्रूभंगवित्रासितः ।
लाटीबाहुविवेष्टितश्च मलयस्त्रीतर्जनीतर्जितः
सोयं संप्रति राजशेखरकविर्वाराणसीं वांच्छति ॥

Râjaśekhara was perhaps not such a rake as he professes to be. The verse may go to show that similar autobiographical couplets, of which tradition has preserved a great many, may oftener be genuine than is sometimes supposed.

3. चिताचक्रं चंद्रः. 4. ज्यायान् धन्वी, Bâlarâmâyaṇa Act IV. (p. 87). ताडकाताडकेण. γ कर्णाभ्यर्णस्फुरितपलितः. 5. नाले शौर्यमहोत्पलस्य. 6. पौलस्त्यः प्रणयेन, Bâlarâmâyaṇa Act II. (p. 36). 7. मार्गं मुंच. 8. यत्पार्वती हठ, Bâlarâmâyana Act I. (p. 19). 9. संबंधी पुरुभूभुजां 10. स्त्रीणां मध्ये.

XXVII, MÂLAVA RUDRA.

1. अभिनववधूरोषस्वादुः करीषतनूनपा-
दसरलजनाश्लेषक्रूरस्तुषारसमीरणः ।
गलितविभवस्याज्ञेवाद्य द्युतिर्मसृणा रवे-
र्विरहवनितावक्त्रक्लैव्यं बिभर्त्ति निशाकरः ॥

Given as by Bhâta in the Subhâshitahârâvali.

2. एतस्माज्जलधेर्मितांबुकणिकाः काश्चिद्गृहीत्वा ततः
पाथोदाः परिपूरयंति जगतीं रुद्धांबरा वारिभिः।
भ्राम्यन्मंदरकूटकोटिघटनाभीतिभ्रमत्तारकां
प्राप्यैकां जलमानुषीं त्रिभुवने श्रीमानभूदच्युतः ॥

Aufrecht writes the name of this poet Malavarudra. But compare Mâlava Kuvalaya and Gauḍa Kumbhakâra above.

XXVIII. Śrî Vakra.

1. देवो जानाति सर्वं यदपि च तदपि ब्रूमहे नीतिनिष्ठं
सार्द्धं संधाय जालांतरधरणिभुजा निर्वृतो बांधवेन।
म्लेच्छानुच्छिन्द्धि भिन्द्धि प्रतिदिनमयशो रुन्द्धि विश्वं यशोभिः
सोदन्वन्मेखलायां परिकलय करं किं च विश्वंभरायाम् ॥

This one verse is so far all that has been found of a poem—by a poet himself also otherwise unknown—which must contain a contemporary account of one of the early leagues of the Hindu princes against their Musalman invaders. Compare what has been said above of Parimala's lost work. Jâlântara here is I presume Jullundur.

XXIX. Varâhamihira.

क्षीणश्चंद्रो विशति तरणेर्मंडलं मासि मासि
लब्ध्वा कांचित्पुनरपि कलां दूरदूरानुवर्ती।
संपूर्णश्चेत्कथमपि तदा स्पर्द्धयोदेति भानो-
र्नो दौर्जन्याद्विरमति जडो नापि दैन्याद्व्यरंसीत् ॥

"The waning moon enters the orb of the sun at each month's end, and having there renewed his fires goes each day further from his helper: nay, when his fulness comes, as come it will, vies in the eastern sky with the setting orb of day. Verily, verily the cold-blooded man never leaves off his ingratitude and his meanness."

Given in Vallabhadeva's Sabhâshitâvali as by Dhârâdhara.

XXX. Bhagavân Maharshi Vyâsa.

सत्यं मनोरमा रामाः सत्यं रम्या विभूतयः।
किं तु मत्तांगनापांगभंगलोलं हि जीवितं ॥

"Doubtless woman is a pleasant thing and wealth too: but life abides no longer than the glance shot from the corner of her eye by a love-sick girl."

Böhtlingk 6733, from the Subhâshitârṇava, with मनोरमाः कामाः in *a*.

XXXI. Śyâmala. चुंबनसक्तः The only Śyâmala we know of is the Śyâmala who was Bâṇa's cousin. Hall's Vâsavâd. Introd. p. 41.

XXXII. Śri Harsha. उद्दामोत्कलिकां, Ratnâv. Act II., B, अविरलैः. 2. कंठे कृत्तावशेषं, Ratnâv. Act II. 3. नष्टं वर्षवरैः, Ratnâv. Act II. *a* अकृत्वा. 4. परिम्लान. Ratnâv. Act β परिमलनम्. δ बिसिनीपत्रशयनम् विश्रांतविग्रहकथो, Ratnâv. .Vishk.

To the twelve compositions by Kshemendra which were already known [10] Schönberg, in his paper on the Kavikanthâbharaṇa, added other eight, which he found quoted or referred to in that book. His list is as follows:—

13 Śaśivanśa,
14 (Padya) Kâdambarî,
15 Chitrabhârata,
16 Lâvaṇyavatî,
17 Kanakajanakî,
18 Deśopadeśa,
19 Muktâvali,
20 Amṛitataranga.

Three of these are quoted in our book also, where the Chitrabhârata is called a Nâṭaka, and the Lâvaṇyavatî and the Muktâvali are called Kâvyas. In addition the following new names occur, Avasarasâra, Baudhâvadânalatâ, Nîtilatâ, Munimatamîmânsâ, Lalitaratnamâlâ, Vinayavalli, Vâtsyâyanasûtrasâra. Of the books in the earlier list the Chaturvargasaṃgraha is the only one quoted under the same name.

I should make some small amends to the Society for a dull paper if I could adequately describe the scene where I got this book, and the impression that scene made upon me. In an upper chamber of a by-street in Ahmedabad were gathered over a hundred of the common people, listening eagerly to their word of life, as that was communicated by Râjendrasûri to his more immediate disciples. A little company of women sat apart, but not so as to be out of hearing of the teacher.

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[10] (1) Bṛihatkathâmanjari. (2) Bhâratamanjari. (3) Kalâvilâsa. (4) Râmâyaṇakathâsâra. (5) Daśavatâracharita. (6) Samayamâtṛikâ. (7) Vyâsâshṭaka. (8) Suvṛittatilaka. (9) Lokaprakâśa. (10) Nitikalpataru. (11) Châruchryaśataka. (12) Chaturvargasaṃgraha.

At the end of our conversation a young Rajpoot, a rich young man as I could judge from his dress, who had been an intent observer of all that passed between his teacher and myself, rose from the crowd, put his folded hands to his head, and told me in his own language that he had one request to make to me. Between Râjendrasûri and another teacher then in Ahmedabad there were vital differences—as to the kind of garments men desiring salvation should wear, and as to whether in the evening hymn they should recite the three verses only, or four. Would I undertake to solve his doubt?

I put him off with a jest which I have sometimes regretted since. But I came away with new wonder at the strangeness of human life: and, as I hope, with fresh sympathy for all of the one family who in every place are thus feeling after God, if haply they may find Him.

Four Sanskrit verses

1 Heart my heart! You go down into hell and mount high above the heaven: in emptiness of spirit you wander over the universe: but not by wandering abroad will you lay hold on God who is within you, who ~~only can~~ give you rest.

2 If I were not a great sinner, if I were not distracted with fear, if I were not the slave of passion, what need should I have of a Saviour

3 There is this bond between me and thee: I am of all men the most miserable, thou art of all beings the most merciful: it cannot be Lord that thou

will not save me.
4 In our sicknesses Himself the physician and Himself the medicine: in darkness a light and in rough places a path: in danger a protection, and when trouble comes a brother: He is the ship that shall bear us safe over life's soundless sea.

Note on the Date of Patanjali.

"Patanjali's date, B.C. 150, may now be relied on."—Bhandarkar in his Early History of the Dekkan, p. 7. So too Kielhorn, though he was more directly concerned with the question of the authenticity of the text of the book, maintains that "we are bound to regard the text of the Mahâbhâshya as given by our MSS. to be the same as it existed about 2000 years ago." (Indian Antiquary, IV., p. 107, and V., p. 241.) I will state very briefly why I think the question must still be regarded as open. Kalhana's verse:—

चंद्राचार्यादिभिर्लब्ध्वादेशं तस्मात्तदागमम् ।
प्रवर्तितं महाभाष्यं स्वं च व्याकरणं कृतम् ॥

Râjâtaranginî, I., 176 (p. 7, Calc. Ed., 1835), appears to me to have exercised what can only be described as a pernicious influence on this controversy. In itself it contains no indication that Kalhaṇa so much as had *Patanjali's* Mahâbhâshya in his mind when writing the passage. But if we grant, for the sake of argument, Prof. Weber's contention (Ind. Stüd., 5, 166), that the transaction Kalhaṇa is referring to is clearly the same as that spoken of in Bhartṛihari's Vâkyapadîya, and grant also, under the same reserve, that it follows that Kalhaṇa here is speaking of Patanjali's work, the verse even then cannot bear the weight which is sought to be put upon it. It is not open to us to quote Kalhaṇa as corroborating Bhartṛihari's statement, when it is clear that, writing in the 12th century, he is, if he is referring here to Patanjali at all, dishing up for us and doctoring a story which he must have got directly or indirectly from Bhartṛihari or from the same sources as Bhartṛihari. Still less is it justifiable to transfer to Kalhaṇa the credit that would attach to any statement made in the Vâkyapadiya as to the date at which this mysterious transaction took place. It is Kalhaṇa, and not Bhartṛihari, who here seems to connect Abhimanyu of Kashmere with Patanjali's commentary: and I do not understand why so much weight should be attached to this one statement, occurring as it does in a part of the Râjataranginì which, as Bühler puts it (Report, p. 59), is full of improbabilities

and absurdities. A similar reasoning holds good of Kalhaṇa's second verse :—

देशांतरादागमय्य व्याचक्षाणः क्षमापतिः ।
प्रावर्तयत विच्छिन्नं महाभाष्यं स्वमंडले ॥

Râjâtaranginì IV., 487 (p. 58, Calc. Ed.)

I notice that Max Müller (Note, p. 335), suggests a doubt as to whether Kalhaṇa is here referring to Patanjali's Mahâbhâshya. But if we grant that he is, here too his statement must be checked by the passage in Bhartṛihari. And as soon as that is done it becomes at once apparent that on Kalhaṇa alone rests the responsibility of dividing the story as it stands in Bhartṛihari into two parts and separating the two by centuries. Bhartṛihari tells us that to Chandra and his school was due the revived study of the Mahâbhâshya. Kalhaṇa puts Chandra in the first century, for Abhimanyu's greater glory, and as he cannot ignore the fact that something of the kind occurred in the reign of king Jayâpiḍa (A.D. 755-786), he invites us to believe that twice in the history of Kashmere did the king of the country interfere to set the Mahâbhâshya on its feet again. Of the two passages the second appears to me to be far more deserving of credit than the first : and the विच्छिन्नं (which need not be construed with स्वमंडले)[1] refers to the state from which Chandra had (recently ?) rescued the book, not to a state into which it had been permitted in Kashmere to fall centuries after his benevolent activity.[2]

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[1] As for example Kielhorn does. " ' The King having sent for interpreters [reading with the Paris edition व्याचक्षाणान्] brought into use in his realm the Mahâbhâshya, which had ceased to be studied' (in Kashmere, and was there fore no longer understood)." Indian Antiquary, V., p. 243. It may be worth noting that प्रावर्तयत is the ordinary expression in the case of the first patron of a book. Thus for example in the colophon to a MS. of Hâla in my possession Sâtavâhana is called the प्रवर्तक of the Kâlâpa grammar. Our word therefore should be translated, as Kielhorn does here, or as Max Müller in his Note, p. 335, " introduces": and this verse in itself does not suggest that what Jayâpiḍa did was to " re-establish " (Max Müller, p. 334) the Mahâbhâshya.

[2] In his reply to this paper Professor Bhândarkar takes this sentence to mean that I understand Kalhaṇa to put Chandra in Jayâpiḍa's reign, and that I accept that as a fact on Kalhaṇa's authority. This of course leads straight to the absurdity of Bhartṛihari's having mentioned a fact which took place 105 years after his death. As my words have been made matter of public comment I must leave them as they were written. But I take this opportunity of saying that, for my own part, I entirely repudiate the construction Bhandarkar puts on them. I am concerned here only with what Kalhaṇa's meaning

Better texts of the Râjâtaranginî, and a careful collation of the two verses, as they ought to be read, with Bhartṛihari would, I think, strengthen this position. I have little doubt that the Parvata of Bhartṛihari's verse is, as Max Müller suggests, no other than the hill of Chittore, which was a centre of learning for the southern country, (Compare my First Report, p. 47). I think it is not impossible that the words लब्धादेशं तस्मात्तदागमं, which from the crux of Râj. I., 176, conceal Bhartṛihari's own phrase पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा. If Kielhorn's conjectural emendation लब्ध्वा देशान्तरात्तदागमम् be ever confirmed, it will become still more obvious that the two verses have one and the same origin. They will then almost textually agree.

But if we are thus really dependent on Bhartṛihari's statement which contains no note of time, we are entitled to range further than Goldstücker and Bhandarkar do in their search for events and names which will suit certain passages in the Mahâbhâshya itself, where Patanjali, as they hold, is referring to contemporaneous or recent history.[3] I will not discuss the question here as to whether these instances really do, in Goldstücker's words, "concern the moment at which Patanjali wrote." (Pâṇ. p. 230.) I think it is forgotten in that argument that Patanjali could trust to the practical acquaintance with the language or literature which his pupils possessed, much as an English grammarian might without risk of confusion illustrate *after having given the rule,* our past and present by two such phrases, as "In six days God made Heaven and Earth," and "This people perishes with hunger."

Four passages in all, so far as I know, have been adduced from the Mahâbhâshya itself as supplying definite chronological data for the time of Patanjali. The first is the note on Pâṇ., v. 3, 99. Goldstücker, it is true, who brought this passage to light, did not contend that it proves more than that Patanjali did not live before the first

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was: and I still think that he got his विच्छिन्नं from the story he read in Bhartṛihari, and that his प्रावर्तयत refers to something that happened in Jayâpiḍa's time. He may have mixed the two things up together hopelessly: but I desired to suggest that his own words do not necessarily preclude the supposition that he himself understood that there was an interval between the historical विच्छिन्नत्वं of the Mahâbhâshya and Jayâpiḍa's action.—[*Note added when publishing.*]

[3] Goldstücker treated this subject in his 'Pâṇini: his place in Sanskrit Literature,' pp. 227-238. The references for Bhandarkar are Indian Antiquary, p. 299, II., pp. 59, 69, 94 and 238.

king of the Maurya dynasty, who was Chandragupta, and who lived 315 B.C.; or, possibly, "if we are to give a natural interpretation to his words," that he lived after the last king of this dynasty, or, in other words, later than 189 before Christ. If the passage stood alone then, and there were no such thing as cumulative effect in arguments of this kind, the inference sought to be drawn from Patanjali's note on Pâṇ., v. 3, 99, might be allowed to pass without challenge. But it will not be denied that this suggestion as to a date *before* which Patanjali may not be supposed to have lived, when taken in connection with a date (Abhimanyu's time), removed from it by two centuries only, and regarded, on what grounds we have just seen, as a date *after* which he may not be supposed to have lived, has done much to strengthen the conviction that here or hereabout we must look for the time of Patanjali. Yet I think it can be shown, beyond all manner of doubt, that this passage has nothing whatever to do with the matter in hand, and that, as far as it is concerned, we are as free—or shall I rather say hampered?—with regard to the upper date to be assigned to Patanjali, as I have contended we still are with regard to his lower date.

Pâṇini's rule is जीविकार्थे चापण्ये. On which the note is अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति। शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति। किं कारणम्। मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः। भवेत्। तासु न स्यात्। यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थाः। तासु भविष्यति. Goldstücker's explanation of this passage is as follows:—"'If a thing,' says Pâṇini, 'serves for a livelihood, but is not for sale, it has not the affix ka.' This rule Patanjali illustrates, with the words 'Siva Skanda Viśâkha,' meaning the idols that represent here divinities, and at the same time give a living to the men who possess them, while they are not for sale. And 'why?' he asks. 'The Mauryas wanted gold, and therefore established religious festivities.' Good. Pâṇini's rule may apply to such (idols as they sold); but as to idols which are hawked about (by common people) for the sake of such worship as brings an immediate profit, their name will have the affix ka."

"Whether or not," Goldstücker goes on to say, "this interesting bit of history was given by Patanjali ironically, to show that even affixes are the obedient servants of kings, and must vanish before the idols which they sell, because they do not take the money at the same time that the bargain is made—as poor people do—I do not know."

In the rest of the passage Goldstücker draws his inference in words that I have already given.

Could Patanjali have thus anticipated the *super grammaticam* story? I thought not: and it was my conviction that there must be some mistake here which led me to examine closely the passage Goldstücker quotes. As a result, I think I can show that Goldstücker misunderstood and mistranslated that passage from top to bottom. I need hardly say that it requires all the courage Max Müller recommends thus to challenge that mighty and indignant shade. But I have put Goldstücker's explanation fairly before the reader. I will now say how I understand the passage. If I am right my translation will, I think, justify itself: and I shall, I hope, be judged to have done some small service with regard to a question on which much depends. अपण्य इत्युच्यते then tells us that a doubt is about to be suggested with regard to the word अपण्ये occurring in the sûtra under comment. "Śiva, Skanda, Viśâkha," are *not* three words illustrating Pâṇini's rule. They form the clause or sentence referred to by the इदम् preceding. For तत्रेदं न सिध्यति *is* the doubt of which we have been forewarned, and must be translated: "In that case [if अपण्ये is to be part of the rule] *the following expression* is not obtained [*i.e.*, must be declared to be bad grammar, while, as a matter of fact, it is in common use, and so it is the correctness of the sûtra that is in peril.] But if शिवः स्कंदो विशाखः; or स्कंदो: विशाखः as Kaiyyaṭa, as I think rightly, reads, be an expression that *primâ facie* throws doubt on the correctness of the sûtra, we must look in it for an indication that the Skanda of this passage *is an idol, and not the god of that name.* स्कंदः in itself cannot be a form of doubtful authority. The doubt is as to whether in a particular connection the form स्कंदकः should not be used. The word we are in search of can neither be शिवः nor स्कंदः. It must, therefore, be विशाखः, and we have next to see whether that word, when used as an adjective to स्कंदः, of its own force suggests that the reference is to an image or representation, as when we talk of a sitting Madonna or a sleeping Venus. But a reference to any dictionary will show that such a meaning is one of the best authenticated senses of the word विशाखः. स्कंदो विशाखः means, "A Skanda in act to shoot," and that is the phrase given here as affording an example of a form which apparently under this rule would have to be condemned. "Why?" (किं कारणं sc. न सिध्यति), "*It is for gain that Mauryas make images.*" The Skanda in act to shoot must be an image: and as it is notorious that images are vendible things it ought not to be possible to speak of a स्कंदो विशाखः, but only of a स्कंदको विशाखः.

So far the doubt. And now the Doubter answers himself. भवेत् "Good."

Vendible images made by the Mauryas are, as a class, by the operation of the word अपण्ये in this sûtra, taken out of one of the categories of things falling under the general rule which enjoins the omission of affix ka. तासु न स्यात् "Let it be admitted that so far to them the rule कनो लुप् should not apply, but that the affix ka should be used. यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थाः But whatever images among these even, are from the beginning intended for worship and not for sale, तासु भविष्यति to them that rule will apply, and the affix ka will be barred."

The extent of the difference between Goldstücker's explanation of this passage and that now offered may be gauged by the last clause here, "and the affix ka will be barred," which stands for Goldstücker's "their names will have the affix ka." But Kaiyyaṭa puts beyond all dispute the question, as to what is the subject of the clauses तासु न स्यात् and तासु भविष्यति, when he says, यास्तु विक्रीयंते तासु न भवति शिवकान्विक्रीणीत इति. The न स्यात् of Patanjali means that the word in question should have the affix : the भविष्यति that it will *not*.

Two points in this explanation require a further note, though fortunately any judgment with regard to them does not affect the argument. I have so far not met with any native support for the particular construction put above on the words स्कंदो विशाखः. That—with or without शिवः—these words refer to the clause immediately preceding, and not to the sûtra, and contain therefore a form or forms whose currency throws doubt upon the sûtra, I believe to be certain. But the shastris I have been able to consult—in particular Mr. Râjarâm Shâstri, the learned grammarian attached to Elphinstone College—agree in thinking that the context of the whole passage is sufficient to show that idols are meant here : and they take the three words Śiva, Skanda, Viśâkha, in the current acceptation of three names of images. That theirs is an old view is shown by the way in which the passage is treated in the Siddhânta Kaumudi, where विशाखः is quietly dropped, and वासुदेवः substituted for it. I put forward that part of my explanation therefore only tentatively, and am quite prepared to find that there I am wrong. It might have been the more prudent course to hold it back: but I confess I believe it is right, and am unwilling to abandon it.

The India Office photozincograph of Kaiyyaṭa and one of Kielhorn's MSS. omit शिवः.[*] Kaiyyaṭa's own note on this passage is attached to the phrase यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थाः । तासु भविष्यति in which, as Nágojîbhaṭṭa puts it, Patanjali "indicates an example for the sû-

[*] As does also the MS. of the Mahâbhâshya in the Alwar Library.—[*Note added when publishing.*]

सूत्रस्योदाहरणं दर्शयति—that is, I take it, states circumstances under which it will come into play without giving an actual example. If Kaiyyaṭa then—whose note runs in full यास्त्वेता इति । याः परिगृह्य गृहाद्गृहमटन्ति तास्वित्यर्थः । यास्तु विक्रीयन्ते तासु न भवति । शिवकान्विक्रीणीत इति—illustrates his own note of *that part of the passage* by an example of the converse case (यास्तु विक्रीयन्ते &c.,) he is not to be taken as repeating Patanjali's illustration of the doubt that went beforehand, and confirming the reading there. In such a context a different illustration seems called for. The whole result is that "Skando Viśâkha" is a phrase which may or may not be right, according to the context, while "Śivakân vikrîṇîti" is imperative. I do not therefore think that we are to see in Kaiyyaṭa's example शिवकान्विक्रीणीते proof that he read शिवः in his text of the Mahâbhâshya. I am more disposed to see in it the source of the subsequent corruption of that text.

The quotation just made from Kaiyyaṭa will illustrate the other point on which a doubt may be entertained as to the correctness of the translation I have given. What is the subject of अटन्ति in Kaiyyaṭa's sentence? Goldstücker supplied "common people," whom he next contrasted with the royal dynasty of the Mauryas. But is it not the Mauryas themselves who are here represented as setting apart for purposes of peripatetic worship some of the images they make? I believe that to the present day the makers of idols contrive that their profession shall pay the same double debt. That seems to me the more natural construction: and so also in Patanjali's note यास्त्वेताः seems to me to mean "whichever among these." I do not however dispute that एताः here may refer to images in general (अर्चाः) and not to images made by Mauryas (मौर्यकल्पितार्चाः), or that अटन्ति may mean "people wander" and not "they wander."

I will only add that संप्रति पूजार्थाः must be taken as two words, though both Goldstücker and Kielhorn (Ed., p. 429) take them as one. संप्रति does not qualify पूजा, and there is no question here of "such worship as brings an immediate profit" (Goldstücker's translation). What is insisted on is that the affix ka will be barred in all cases where the images have from the beginning been meant for worship and not for sale. Compare Nâgojîbhaṭṭa's gloss—

संप्रति पूजार्थाः। संप्रति स्वनिर्माणकालमेव फलजनिका या पूजा जीविकाप्रदत्वेन तदर्था इत्यर्थस्तदाह। या परिगृह्येति.

There is, therefore, I contend, no such contrast between the Mauryas and common people as Goldstücker discovered in this passage: and

with that vanishes the only foundation for his belief that the Mauryas intended here are the dynasty of that name. They are a guild or caste of idol-makers, as Weber pointed out was apparently Nâgojîbhaṭṭa's explanation. (Compare Weber, Indische Stüdien, p. 150). I ought to add that Weber also noted that अर्चाः must not be translated, as Goldstücker does, by "religious festivals." I am not quite certain how far Weber intends his translation to be a correction of Goldstücker's. I notice that he puts, "Auf diese passt die Regel *nicht*," for Goldstücker's "Pâṇini's rule may apply to such." But he does not, as in the other case, call attention to this as a correction: though, if it is meant for a correction, it is a very important one. I mention the matter, because I am of course anxious to yield priority to a scholar eminent no less for his fairness than for his learning and achievements for any part of the foregoing explanation which he may see reason to claim as his own.

Of the three remaining passages in the Mahâbhâshya which are relied on, that cited by Bhandarkar इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः—is I think the only one which, as matters stand at present, really concerns us. Goldstücker it is true has shown that Patanjali illustrates a vârttika of Kâtyâyana according to which the imperfect should be used when the fact related is 'out of sight, notorious, but could be seen by the person who uses the verb,' by the two clauses अरुणद्यवनः साकेतं । अरुणद्यवनो माध्यमिकान् "the Yavanas besieged Ayodhya: the Yavanas besieged the Mâdhyamikas." To these two passages the doubt I have hinted above as to the validity of the major premiss in this argument appears specially applicable. Is it not a perfectly reasonable view to suppose that the vârttika is illustrated by clauses which, *taken along with it*, serve their purpose apart altogether from the time at which the grammarian lived? To suppose in other words that the user (प्रयोक्ता) whose relation to the time and circumstances of the action is specified is not necessarily, or even probably, Patanjali. Is this not indeed just what Nâgojîbhaṭṭa means when he says that we are to gather from the clause itself that the speaker is contemporaneous with the action—अरुणदित्युदाहरणे तु तुल्यकालः प्रवर्तत इति बोध्यम्.

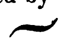
But further discussion of this point here may well be waived in the absence so far of any information as to the events referred to. Havoc has already been made of Goldstücker's Buddhist sect of Mâdhyamikas: and we do not know either that the 'Yavanas' besieged 'Sâketa' in the time of Menanders, or that they did not besiege that city more than once in the centuries that followed. In the case of Bhandar-

kar's example it seems to me to be more probable than not, that the whole context—the illustration itself I regard as open to the same reasoning as the other two—points to the conclusion that Patanjali lived at the time, and perhaps at the court, of Pushpamitra. But if that be so there were more Pushpamitras, or Pushyamitras, than the king who reigned in the second century before Christ. There was a Pushyamitra, who lived at the time to which recent speculation appears to the present writer to be slowly but surely referring Patanjali.[5] In the Bhitari Lat inscription it is mentioned that Skandagupta, "the son of Kumâragupta, who was the son of Chandragupta, who was the son of Samudragupta, who was the son of Chandragupta, who was the son of Ghaṭotkacha, who was the son of Mâharâja Śrî Gupta," the founder of the later Gupta dynasty, *conquered Pushyamitra* समुदितबलकोषात्पुष्यमित्रं च जित्वा. This point has been hitherto obscured from the fact that in Bhao Daji's revised translation of this inscription, published in the tenth Volume of our Journal, p. 59, 'Pushya' is, perhaps by a printer's error, enclosed in brackets as if it were doubtful or conjectural. It is not so in Bhao Daji's own transcript which follows: and Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji, to whom I owe this reference, and who it was that obtained the transcript on which Bhao Daji worked, assures me that the reading is clearly as I have given above. (Bhao Daji read समुदितबलकोषम्पुष्यमित्रं गृहीत्वा). The Pushyamitra against whom Skandagupta had to move all his forces, and employ all his treasure, must have been a formidable opponent; and it seems to me that it is open to any one who admits that Patanjali is referring to a living Pushyamitra to prefer this one to that.

[5] I can only refer here to the discovery that Kshemendra does not distinguish between Pâṇini the grammarian and Pâṇini the poet, and to the evidence adduced by Max Müller from the works of the Chinese pilgrim I'tsing, Note, p. 347; and my Reports I. p. 39, and II. p. 61.

AN INSCRIPTION FROM KOTAH.

I took the opportunity of a recent visit to Kotah in Rajputana to examine and take a fresh rubbing of the inscription at Kansua, near that town, of which I now offer a revised transcript and translation. Attention was first called to this interesting and important memorial of antiquity by Colonel Tod, who published a translation in an Appendix to Vol. I. of his Annals of Rajasthan. Dr. F. Kielhorn contributed to Vol. XIII. of the Indian Antiquary a transcript of the original text, with a short abstract of the contents. I hope it may be permitted to as warm an admirer as Tod's Book ever had to say, what is indeed the bare truth, that on this occasion the translation given to him by his shastris presents hardly a single feature in common with the original. Dr. Kielhorn's transcript had already made so much clear. But the inscription is of a nature to warrant a full translation: and as my rubbing supplies a considerable number of corrections it does not seem superfluous to give, along with the version which follows, a revised transcript.

Kielhorn has pointed out that the alphabet used in this inscription is essentially the same as that of Dr. Bühler's Jhâlrâpâṭhan inscriptions published with facsimiles in Vol. V. of the Indian Antiquary. A difference which Kielhorn draws attention to is that in the Kotah inscription middle long a " is denoted by a wedge-shaped sign placed after the consonant, not by the sign  placed above it." It has to be added that the wedge-shaped sign in question is hardly, or rather not at all, distinguishable in form from another wedge which both in the Jhâlrâpâṭhan and in the Kotah inscriptions is a constituent part of the signs for the letters ज and ट्. In the eighth line of Dr. Bühler's facsimile of the first Jhâlrâpâṭhan inscription the word स्त्वंप्रवृत्युज्वलज्वला° supplies in close juxtaposition the syllables ज्व and ज्वा. It will be seen that both have the wedge. The second character differs from the first in that there the wedge is drawn out from the thin end by a curve above the line into the "diminutive trident," as Bühler calls it, which is the ordinary sign for middle long a in the Jhâlrâpâṭhan inscriptions. For the letter ट् compare the word ललाटं in the second line of the same facsimile, where, however, the wedge has got to look like a mere continuation of the top line.

The wedge then being already a constituent part of the sign for ज् and ट् in this alphabet a difficulty arose when, as here, it came to be used also for middle long a. The alphabet, as it previously existed, indicated the expedient made use of in the Kotah inscription. While after other letters long a is written by the simple wedge, after जा and ट् the wedge is drawn out in a curve going above the line, though not to the same extent as in the older inscriptions.

The only other characters which appear to call for remark are those for middle short and long i. The two are differentiated, as in other Sanskrit alphabets, not by the relative position each occupies to its consonant, nor by any material difference in the shape of the sign, but by the direction, to the right or left, the curve takes from the initial point, which is, as a rule, somewhat thicker than the rest of the character. The neglect of the distinctions I have noticed has, I think, led Kielhorn to correct मणी V. 3 into मणि, विकटा V. 4 into विकट, and स्पष्टि V. 9 into स्पष्टी. In all three cases the right reading would appear to be on the stone.

This inscription is dated in the 796th year of the Lords of Mâlava. It is probable that the Jhâlrâpâṭhan inscription, which is dated in the 747th year of an unnamed era, is to be referred to the same method of computing time. The slight difference in the alphabet to which attention has been drawn is of the kind that might develop in the fifty years which, on this hypothesis, would separate the two. Neither the Śivagaṇa of our inscription nor the Durgagaṇa of the Jhâlrâpâṭhan inscription is spoken of as a sovereign monarch :[1] and when we find one spoken of as ruling at Kotah, under a Maurya Emperor, in the year 796 of the Lords of Mâlava, and the other referred to as ruler in the year 747, of a town only seventy miles to the south, which has always been very closely connected with Kotah, it seems natural to suppose that "Durgagaṇa," and "Śivagaṇa," are of the same stock. If this be so, it is to be noted that the want of any reference on the Jhâlrâpâṭhan inscription speaks of an era which at the time had wide and undisputed currency.

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[1] Differently Kielhorn, who carries the line of Maurya Emperors given here from Dhavala through a Chirantana to Śaṁkuka, who was the father of the Śivagaṇa of our inscription. A reference to either transcript will however show, I think, that it is the friendship existing between Dhavala and Śaṁkuka which is referred to, and that chirantana is not a proper name at all.

It can be shown that this era of the Lords of Malwa is no other than that now known as the Vikramâditya era, and that it was in use under this or some such similar name before 544 A. D., the year in which, according to Mr. Fergusson's ingenious theory, the Vikramâditya era was first invented.

When I was at Jhâlrâpâṭhan I was told by the Brahmans of that place that they could trace their lineage back to a body of immigrants from the west country, part of whom halted at Daśapura, while their own progenitors pushed seventy miles further to the east, and finally settled where I found their descendants living. Daśapura, they added, was the old name of the village now called Mandosar near the station of that name on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. It will be seen that this identification, which is an important one, was confirmed by the inscription about to be referred to. Daśapura as the name of a town in Malwa occurs in the Hitopadeśa.

I knew that the village of Mandosar contained an old inscription[2] which was probably of very great importance: and what I heard from the Jhâlrâpâṭhan Brahmans did not diminish my anxiety to make out a visit to the place. Unfortunately that proved impracticable at the time. I was able however to supply Pandit Bhagvanlal with funds for the journey: and he has put me in possession of his rubbing and transcript.

The Mandosar inscription refers to a temple built by a guild of weavers, immigrants from the Lâṭ country, who had been hospitably received at Daśapura, whither they had been attracted by the report of the virtues of the then ruler of that town, Bandhuvarman, son of that ornament of kings, Viśvavarman.[3] But while Bandhuvarman

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[2] I heard of it from Dr. Bhagvanlal, who got his information from Mr. J. F. Fleet, into whose hands a rough copy, made at the time by an engineer employed in the construction of the Railway, was finally put. The inscription is an extremely quaint one, and I should much like to publish it in full. But my friend Mr. Fleet, who has since obtained his own facsimile, destines the inscription for his forthcoming Gupta volume: and in deference to whatever may be his rights of treasure-trove in the matter I willingly refrain from doing more now than adducing what is necessary to the matter in hand. The chronological speculations above are however my own.

[3] The word I have translated ruler is pârthiva. If the names of all the rulers of Daśapura ended in varman (compare our Śivagaṇa and Durgagaṇa above) we may have here a clue to the Pârthivo Rantivarman at whose court the Mudrârâkshasa was written.

ruled over Daśapura, the Earth "with the four seas for her girdle, and Meru and Kailasa for her fair great breasts," was under the sway of Kumâragupta. And this temple was erected—

मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये ।
त्रिनवत्यधिकेऽब्दानां-

"when four hundred and ninety-three years from the establishment [in the country ?] of the tribes of the Mâlavas had passed away." Whether gaṇasthiti here has the meaning I have suggested for it may be matter of future discussion. I think it will not be disputed that in any case we have here the same era as that of our Kotah inscription. What is the era in the 494th year of which Kumâragupta was ruling the wide earth? This is a question to which I take it there can be but one answer. It is the era now known as that of Vikramâditya.

This can perhaps be most effectively demonstrated by beginning at the end, and assuming for the sake of argument what I desire to prove. Kumâragupta then, let us take it, was reigning in the year 494 of the Mâlava era, that is, of the Vikramâditya era, that is, in the year A. D. 438. Kumâragupta's earliest and latest known dates, in the era of his House, are 98 and 129, that is, the years A. D. 407 and 448. On our hypothesis then the Mandosar inscription falls easily within the time at which Kumâragupta is known to have been reigning: and there is no other era known to us which will give us the same result. The Mâlava era and the Vikramâditya era are therefore one and the same.

It is taken for granted in the above that the initial year of the Gupta era is A. D. 319. But with Oldenberg and Bhandarkar I hold that no apology is required for such an assumption. Those who still hesitate may rather fairly be challenged to show how any other theory of the Gupta era can be made to fit in with the Mandosar inscription.

Mr. Fergusson attempted to get rid of the chronological difficulties attaching to King Vikrama of popular story, by the theory that the astronomers who calculated for the monarch who was Kâlidâsa's patron, an era to be called after his name, took as the date round which it should pivot A. D. 544, "the year in which the great battle of Korur was fought," but called that year Samvat 600, not Samvat 1, of the new method of reckoning. While the theory, as so expressed, must now, I think, be abandoned, it remains quite possible that Fergusson's solution of the chronological difficulties referred to may nevertheless "turn out to be in the main correct." But in that case what happened

was not that Vikramâditya's astronomers were so careful to provide a reckoning for past, as well as for present and future time, as Fergusson's theory would make them out to be. Either Vikramâditya was personally concerned in restoring, not establishing, the old era of the kings of Mâlava :[4] or the common people forgot in his glory all the other kings who had ever ruled that land. In or after his time the years took their name from him, as July took that new name from Divus Iulius.

It must not be put out of sight, however, that we may any day discover that Vikramâditya, as a name of the Mâlava era, is older than it has yet been found to be, and that Bühler is right in still holding to the belief that the Vikrama era, " which begins 56 B. C. was really established by a king of that name who lived before the beginning of the Christian era."[5] That is the natural explanation of the name, and, as not unfrequently happens, it may ultimately turn out to be the correct one.

To come back to our inscription, the year in which it is dated corresponds, if the foregoing be correct, to A. D. 740. Of the two villages set apart for the maintenance for ever of the temple, the name of one, Chaoni, can be seen close to Kotah, in the map of the Trigonometrical Survey. I have not been able to identify the other. It would be interesting, and is perhaps possible, to trace the fortunes of an endowment so solemnly set apart.

TRANSCRIPT.

ओं नमः शिवाय ओं

1. नमः स्सकलसंसारसागरोत्तारहेतवे ।
तमोगर्त्ताभिसंपातहस्तालम्बाय शम्भवे ॥

2. श्वेतद्वीपानुकाराः क्वचिदपरिमितैरिन्दुपादैः पतद्भि-
र्न्नित्यस्थैस्सान्धकाराः क्वचिदपि निभृतैः फाणिपैर्भोगभागैः। †Line 1 ends.
सोष्माणो नेत्रभाभिः क्वचिदतिशिशिरा जह्नुक†न्याजलौघै-
रित्थं भावैर्व्विरुद्धैरपि जनितमुदः पान्तु शम्भोर्ज्जटा वः ॥

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[4] As Tribhuvanamalla had again to do in 1182 A. D. when the Śaka era had for the time in its turn displaced the older method of computation. See references given by Max Müller, 'India : What can it teach us ?' p. 285, note 1.

[5] Max Müller, 'India: What can it teach us ?' page 285.

Verse 1. *a* नमःस्सकल°. sic.

3. भोगीन्द्रस्य फणामणिद्युतिमिलन्मौलीन्दुलोलांशवो
नेत्राग्नेश्छुरितास्सधूमकापिशैर्ज्वालाशिखाग्रैः क्वचित् ।
मुक्ताकारमरुन्नदीजलकणैराकीर्ण्णशोभाः क्वचि-
च्चेत्थं शाश्वतभूषणव्यतिकराः शम्भोर्ज्ज†टाः पान्तु वः ॥ †Line 2 ends.

4. स्थाणोर्व्वः पातु मूर्द्धा सर इव सततव्योमगंगाम्बुलोल-
स्फूर्ज्जद्भोगीन्द्रपंकश्लथविकटजटाजूटकह्लारहारी ।
मन्दं यत्र स्फुरन्त्यो धवलनरशिरोवारिजन्मान्तराल-
स्पष्टः प्रोद्यन्मृणालांकुरनिकर इवाभान्ति मौलीन्दुभासः ॥

5. नेत्त्रक्रोडप्रसक्तोज्वलदहनशिखापिं†गभासां जटानां 3
भारं संयम्य कृत्वा सममृतकरोद्भासि मौलीन्दुबिम्बं ।
हस्ताभ्यामूर्द्धमुद्यद्विशशिखिवदनग्रन्थिमातत्य नागं
स्थाणुः प्रारब्धनृत्तो जगदवतु लयोत्कम्पिपादांगुलीकः ॥

6. चूडाचारुमणीन्दुमण्डितभुवः सद्भोगिनामाश्रयः
पक्षच्छेदमयार्त्तिसंकटवतां रक्षाक्ष†मो भूभृतां । 4
दूराभ्यागतवाहिनीपरिकरो रत्नप्रकारोज्वलः
श्रीमानित्थमुदारसागरसमो मौर्यान्वयो दृश्यते ॥

7. दिङ्नागा इव जात्यसंभृतमुदो दानोज्वलैराननै-
र्व्विस्रम्भेण रमन्त्यभीतमनसा मानोद्धुरास्सर्व्वतः ।
सद्वंशस्ववशप्रसिद्धयशसो यस्मिन्प्रसिद्धा गुणैः
श्लाघ्या भद्रतया† च सत्वबहुलापक्षैस्ससं भूभृतः ॥ 5

8. इत्थं भवत्सु भूपेषु भुजन्त्सु सकलां महीं ।
धवलात्मा नृपस्तत्र यशसा धवलोभवत् ।

9. कायादिप्रकटार्ज्जितैरहरह स्वैरेव दोषैः सदा
निर्व्वस्त्रा सततक्षुध प्रतिदिनं स्पष्टीभवद्यातनाः ।
रात्रीसंचरणा भृशं परगृहेष्वित्थं विजित्यारयोः
येनाद्यापि नरेन्द्रतां† सुविपदो नीताः पिशाचा इव ॥ 6

Verse 3. *a* फणामणि. Kielhorn फणामणी, corrected into फणामणि. *β* छुरितास्सधूम. K. छुरिभस्मधूम. Verse 4. *a* Read, with K., मूर्द्धा. *β* विकट. K. विकटा corrected to विकट. The distinction between ट and टा is very clearly seen in the four syllables जटाजूट here. *γ* जन्मान्तराल. K. जन्मान्तराले. Verse 5. *a* उज्वल is throughout so written.—पिंगभासां. K. (प्रिय) भासां.—*γ* Read with K., हस्ताभ्यामूर्द्ध्मु°. Verse 7. *β* मनसा. K. मनसो. *δ* Read, with K., पक्षैस्समं. Verse 9 *a*. Visarga is wanted after रहरह. K. reads it, but says it is very indistinct. My rubbing, which does not show it, may be defective. But compare two other cases of an omitted visarga in the next line. *β* Read निर्व्वस्त्राः सततक्षुधः. K corrects.

10. कोपाक्रूनमहेभकुम्भविगलन्मुक्ताफलालंकृत-
स्फीतास्रस्रुतिमण्डिता अपि मुहुर्येनोर्ज्जितेन स्वयं ।
उन्नालीरिव पंकजैः पुनरपि च्छिन्नैः शिरोभिर्व्विषां
विक्रान्तेन विभूषिता रणभुवः त्यक्ता नरैः कातरैः ॥ †Line 7 ends.

11. इत्थं तस्य चिरन्तनो द्विजवरस्सन्नप्युपा†त्तायुध-
प्रीतिप्रेतनरेन्द्रसत्कृतिमुदः पात्रं प्रसिद्धो गुणैः ।
यस्याद्यापि रणांगणे विलसितं संसूचयन्ति द्विष-
त्सुष्यच्छोणितमर्म्मरा रणभुवः प्रेतपृयाः प्रायशः ॥

12. शब्दस्यार्त्थ इव प्रपादनपटोर्म्मार्ग्गस्त्रयीसंज्ञितो
धर्म्मस्सेव विशुद्धभास्वरलो न्यायस्य मूलं सतः ।
प्रामाण्य† प्रगत – – – – – यस्साध्यस्य संसिद्धये 8
तस्य [भूदभिसं]गतः पृयसखः श्रीसंकुकाख्यो नृपः ॥

13. देगिणी नाम तस्यासीद्धर्म्मपत्नी द्विजोद्भवा ।
तस्यां तस्याभवद्वीरः सूनुः कृतगुणादरः ॥

14. यशस्वी रूपवां दाता श्रीमां शिवगणो नृपः ।
शिवस्य नूनं स गणो येन तद्भक्ततां गतः ॥

15. ख†ड्गाघातदलत्तनुत्रविचटद्वह्निस्फुलिंगोज्वल- 9
ज्वालादग्धकबन्धकण्ठकुहरप्रोन्मुक्तनादोल्बणे ।
नाराजमथिताननाकुलखगप्रोद्वान्तरक्तासव-
प्रीतप्रेतजने रणे रतधियायेनासकृच्चेष्टितं ॥

16. ज्ञात्वा जन्म जरावियोगमरणक्लेशैरशेषैश्चितं
स्वार्त्थस्याप्ययमेव योग उचितो लोके† प्रसिद्धः सतां । 10
तेनेदं परमेश्वरस्य भवनं धर्म्मात्मना कारितं
यं दृष्ट्वैव समस्तलोकवपुषां नष्टं कलेः कल्मषं ॥

निर्व्वेस्त्रा:, and reads सततक्षुधि ("the ि very indistinct.")—Read स्पष्टीभवद्या-तना:. K. स्पाष्टिभवय्यातना: corrected into स्पष्टीभवद्यातनां:. γ Read with K. विजित्यारयो. δ नरेन्द्रतां. K. (विकीर्ण)तां. Compare my translation. Verse 10. γ Read उन्नालैरिव which is K.'s reading of the stone.—Correct, with K., द्विषां δ भुवः त्यक्ता sic. Verse 11. α K. द्विजवरस्स (न्वीर्य्येव) त्तायुध. β मुदः पात्रं. The stone is injured here. δ प्रिय is throughout the inscription written पृय. Verse 12. α K. प्रह्लादन. β Read धर्मस्येन K. धर्म्मस्सेव्य°. δ K. तसय [भूदभिसयं]तः Verse 13. α K. द्रेंगिणी 'Anusvára or uncertain.' β K. [सूनुः] कृतगुणा [करः]. Verse 14. γ K. सगणो. Verse 15. γ Read नाराच. K. नारा(जैम्र्मे)थित.—K. रक्तासवं. δ K. प्रीतप्रेतजनो.—K. येनासकृच्चर्ब्बितः Verse 16. α K. उचितः corrected into उचितो. The correct form is quite distinct, तो being written as in Jain MSS. ता, except that two wedges take the place of the two lines. γ K. corrects यं into यद्. Compare my translation.

17. पुष्पाशोकसमीरणेन सुरभावुत्फुल्लचूतांकुरे
काले मत्तविलोलषट्पदकुले व्यारुद्धदिङ्मण्डले ।
जातेपाङ्गनिरीक्षणैककथके नारीजनस्य स्मरे
क्रूप्तं †सद्भवनं भवस्य सुधिया तेनेह कण्वाश्रमे ॥ †Line 11 ends.

18. कालेन्दोलाकुलानां तनुवलनभरात्प्रस्फुटत्कंचुकानां
कान्तानां दृश्यमाने कुचकलशतटीभाजिसंभोगचिन्हे ।
यस्मिन्प्रेयोभिमुख्यस्थितिझटितिनमच्छस्मितार्द्धेक्षणानां
भ्रूभंगैरेव रम्यो हृदयविनिहितस्सूच्यते प्रेमबन्धः ॥ 12

19. म†त्तद्विरेफझङ्कारसहकारविराजिताः ।
संवीक्ष्य ककुभो याष्पं मुंचन्ति पथिकांगनाः ॥

20. धूपादिगन्धदीपात्थं खण्डस्फुटितहेतुना ।
मामौदत्तौ क्षया नीमिः सर्व्वां द्रोंचोणिपट्टकौ ॥

21. पालयन्तु नृपाः सर्व्वे येषां भूमिरियं भवे ।
एवं कृते ते धर्म्मार्थे नूनं यान्ति †शिवालयं ॥ 13

22. संसारसागरं घोरं अनेन धर्म्मसेतुना ।
तारयिष्यत्यसौ नूनं जन्यौ चात्मानमेव च ॥

23. यावत्ससागरां पृथ्वीं सनगां च सकाननां ।
यावदिन्दुस्तपे भानुस्तावत्कीर्त्तिर्भविष्यति ॥

24. संवत्सरशतैर्यातैः सपंचनवत्यर्ग्गलैः । 14
सप्तभिर्म्मालवेशानां मन्दिरं धूर्ज्जटेः† कृतं ॥

25. अलुब्धः पुण्यवादी च शिवभक्तिरतः सदा ।
कारापकोशब्दगणः धार्म्मिकः शंसितव्रतः ॥

26. दक्षः प्राज्ञो विनीतात्मा गुरुभक्तः पुण्यंवदः ।
तृप्तो – – – – – – – कश्चास्मि कायस्थो गोभिकांगजः ॥

27. उत्कीर्ण्णं शिवनागेन द्वारशिवस्य सूनुना ।
सूनुना भट्टसुरभेद्देवटेन †श्रुतोज्वलाः ॥ 15

28. श्लोका अमी कृता त्तया मौलिचन्द्रसुधाजुषः ।
कृष्णसुतो गुणाढ्यश्च सूत्रधारोत्र णण्णकः ॥

Verse 17. *β* K. काल्ये.—K. °कुलैर्व्यारुद्ध°. Verse 18. *α* K. काल्येन्दो.—K. दृश्यमानैः (कुचकलशभुजां) भोजिसंभोगचिह्नैः *γ* K. यस्मि (न्प्रिया) भिमुख्य. *δ* K. रम्यैर्हृदय. Verse 19. *α* K.° झङ्कारि the "ि being very faintly visible." *β* Read बाष्पं. Verse 20 *β* Read perhaps मामौ दत्ताक्षया नीविः. K. क्षयो नीमि evidently stands for अक्षयनीविः. Verse 21. *α* Read, with K. भवेत्. Verse 23. *γ* Read तपेद्भानुः. Verse 24 *α* K. "the expression sa-argala for adhika I have not met with anywhere else." Sapanchanavatyargalaih is perhaps better explained as a bahuvrihi compound, the first member of which is Sapanchanavati "90 plus 5, and the second, argala, in the sense of "furthest limit." Verse 25. *γ* K. कारापको शब्दगुणः *δ* Verse 26. *α* K. शूरभक्तः.—*β* Read with K. भट्टसुरभेद्देवटेन. Verse 28. *α* Read भक्त्या. K. कृ[ता] भक्त्या.

29. एतत्कण्वाश्रमं ज्ञात्वा सर्व्वपापहरं शुभं ।
कृतं हि मन्दिरं शम्भोः धर्म्मकीर्त्तिविवर्द्धनं ॥

30. यतिहीनं अर्थशब्दहीनं मात्राहीनं तु यद्भवे ।
तत्सर्व्वं साधुचि†त्तेन मर्षणीयं बुधैस्सदा॥ †Line 16 ends

Translation.

Om! Adoration to Śiva! Om!

1. Adoration to Śambhu through Whom it is that we are able to cross life's whole sea, Whose is the Hand let down to us that are all fallen in the Pit of Darkness.[1]

2. May Śambhu's matted locks protect you—locks that delight by conditions (moods) wide apart: for here they are bright as the White Land with the countless rays of the moon falling upon them, there dark with the heavy folds of the Monarch of Serpents that lie ever upon them: here hot with the flashes of his eye, there cold indeed with the plashing waters of the Daughter of Jahnu.[2]

3. May Śambhu's matted locks protect you—locks whose ornaments are ever intermingling: for over all of them there lie the quivering rays of the moon that are blended with the lustre of the jewel in the Great Serpent's hood: and in some places they are streaked with the smoke-encircled tawny tongues of flame from the fire of his eye, in others dashed with the pearly drops of spray thrown up by the River of the Gods.

Verse 29 *a*. He first wrote यतिहीनमर्थ.—Read with K. भवेत्.

[1] अभिसंपात is given by Böhtlingk (Smaller Dictionary) as a word for which no reference was available. हस्तालम्ब is the same as हस्तावलम्ब a word which B R explain as meaning "that which the hands lay hold of." I have suggested another way of taking the word. Compare the verse which B R refer to :—

दुर्गः संसारमार्गो मरणमनियतं व्याधयो दुर्निवार्या
दुष्प्रापा कर्मभूमिर्न खलु निपततामस्ति हस्तावलम्बः ।
इत्येवं संप्रधार्य प्रतिदिवसमहो मानसे शुद्धबुद्ध्या
धर्मे चित्तं विधेयं नियतमतिगुणं वाञ्छता सिद्धिसौख्यम् ॥

[2] Śiva wears the Moon as his crest jewel, and the serpent Śesha coils its folds over his head, through his matted locks the Ganges finds a path as it descends from heaven to become an earthly stream.

4. May Sthâṇu's Head protect you. It is a lake whose lotus charms the eye.[3] That lotus is the great braid of hair: and the mud to which it clings loosely is the great serpent that ever lazily swims on the water of the heavenly Ganges. It is a lake where the moon's rays quietly shining, appear like many lotus stalks seen between the white skulls that are its lotus-flowers.

5. Lo He begins to dance and his toes keep measure with the beat: he has bound together the weight of those locks that are reddened with the tongues of flame from the flashing fire that has its home in his deep-sunk eye: he has put straight the moon's orb that is bright with its nectar-like rays: and with his two hands he has pulled tight the serpent from whose knotted face the fire of the poison is up-springing. May this Sthâṇu protect the world.

6. The Maurya line is seen to be like the deep (noble) sea: it illuminates the world with the moon of its crest-jewel (the moon as its crest-jewel) is the refuge of great princes (great serpents): it is able to protect kings (mountains) that are in pain and trouble through fear of the destruction of their forces (wings): to it come armies (rivers) from far and wide: it is bright with all manner of precious possessions (jewels): and in it fortune dwells.

7. The kings of that line—like World Elephants—greatly gladdening good men with the light of their faces bright with gifts (the juice that exudes from the temples of elephants)—exalted in their pride, roam at large over the earth confidently and undaunted of heart: praised too for their friendliness (bhadra, a kind of elephant) and - - - - ? they are glorious for their race, more glorious for their virtues.

8. Such were these kings and they reigned over the whole earth. And among them there arose king Dhavala, himself, by reason of his fame, as resplendent (dhavala = white) as his name.

9. Through their own faults heaped up in the sight of all men from day to day by sins of thought, word, and deed, this king's enemies were by him at once conquered and made kings (wandering beggars) like evil spirits naked and ever hungry, with new terrors appearing each day, they wander by night from door to door of the stranger.

10. Not once or twice did he the mighty and valorous one by his own right hand adorn over again the fields of fight—deserted of timid

[3] Literally "like a lake charming by means of the lotus," &c. It is no easy matter to render this style into English in a way that shall not be absolutely unreadable.

men with the severed heads of his enemies for lotuses torn from their stalks, though these fields were already adorned with the pearls that had fallen from the elephant temples he had cloven asunder in his wrath, and garnished with broad streams of blood.

11–12. Now a king Śrî Sañkuka by name had long been this man's intimate and dear friend. Though a brahmin this Sañkuka bore arms and took such joy in them that he was a very vessel of acceptable offerings to the King of the Dead. He was famed for his virtues. Even now the spirit-haunted fields of fight, full of the murmur of the rivers of the blood of his foes slowly drying up speak of his pastime in the courts of war. To Dhavala Sañkuka was what the meaning is to the significant word, what the Path of the so-called Triad (the three Vedas) is to the Law. He was pure at heart and a very Root of Good Conduct - - - - ?

13. He had a lawful wife, by name Dengiṇî, of the people of the twice-born. She bore to him a son—a hero, who paid due respect to merit.

14. King Śivagaṇa, glorious, handsome, liberal and fortunate. Surely he was once (in a previous birth) that gaṇa (host) of Śiva since he became now his devotee.

15. Not once or twice did he wrestle, pleased at heart in the field of war, the field made frightful by the noise that issued from the open ends of the throats of the headless corpses that were their own funeral pyre, on which they burnt with the flame lit by the flashes of fire that rose from their arrows as it was cloven by the sword stroke—the field where the spirits of the dead saw with pleasure the blood vomited by the fowls of the air as they rose in terror from the faces gashed by the arrows that still adhered to them.[4]

16. But the good know assuredly that life is full of all manner of troubles—old age, bereavement, and death—and that 'one thing only is needful' here: therefore did this man cause to be built this temple of the Most High God, to but look on Whom is for all people to wash from their bodies the stain of Time.

17. When aśoka-trees in flower perfumed the air, when the mango was in blossom, and East, West, North, and South were beset with swarms of drunken and staggering bees, when Love spoke only of the

[4] The birds were wounded or frightened: and the spirits of the air get blood to drink without having to go further.

coquettish glances of women folk, here in the hermitage of Kaṇva this man piously built a fair House for Śiva.

18. At the time when women, brought face to face with their lovers, with a laugh bend low and half close their eyes, as they think of all they show on breasts laid bare by the motion of the swing, and speak the love they feel only by their knotted brows.

19. And when those whose lords are absent, let fall a tear as they mark how all round them the place is adorned with mango-trees on which the drunken bees are humming.

20. For incense, perfumes or light, and for repairs, two villages Sarvâtka and Chaoni, have been assigned in perpetuity.

21. Let all kings whose this land may be maintain this gift: if they do so for righteousness sake assuredly they will come to Śiva's, heavenly home.

22. This is a Bridge of Righteousness over which assuredly such an one may transport himself and his parents[6] across life's awful sea.

23. His fame shall endure as long as the earth with her seas, hills, and groves, as long as the sun and moon shall burn.

24. When 795 years of the kings of Mâlava had gone this temple of Śiva was built.

25. The architect was Aśabdagaṇa (?)—a man free from avarice, kindly spoken, and always a true worshipper of Śiva.

26. The writer here is Gomika's son Raupuka, a man clever, wise, modest of heart, devoted to his guru, kind spoken.

27-8. Śivanâga, Dvâraśiva's son engraved this: Devaṭa, Bhaṭṭasurabhi's son composed with faithful heart these verses that are bright as the scriptures, and full of the nectar distilled from the moon on His crest. And the virtuous Naṇṇaka, Krishna's son, was the Sûtradhâra here.

29. Forasmuch as the hermitage of Kaṇva is blessed and able to take away all sin: therefore in it has been built this temple of Śambhu, whereby that one's merit and fame shall increase.

30. Whatever mistakes there may be in the joinings or words or mâtrâs these I pray the learned of all time kindly to forgive.

[6] B R give this as a meaning of जन्य for which no reference was available.